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THIS DETAILED, LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS DOES NOT CONTRAST ENGLISH AND QUECHUA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR BUT RATHER ATTEMPTS TO DESCRIBE THE DISTRIBUTIONAL AND SEMANTIC CATEGORIES PARTICULAR TO CUZCO QUECHUA IN A THOROUGH AND SCIENTIFIC MANNER. IT CAN BE USED IN THE FIELD TO IDENTIFY UNFAMILIAR UTTERANCES OR TO HELP UNDERSTAND HOW NATIVE SPEAKERS COMMUNICATE IN THIS COMPLEX LANGUAGE. A SERIOUS STUDENT WHO WISHES TO LEARN OTHER DIALECTS OF QUECHUA COULD USE THIS DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR AS A BASIS FOR COMPARISON. IT IS WRITTEN ON A TECHNICAL LEVEL OF LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION, BUT CAN BE USED BY THOSE WITH A BACKGROUND IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS OR SOME TRAINING IN QUECHUA DIALECTS. (JD)

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The Structure of Cuzco Quechua

[Donald F. Solá]

Quechua Language Materials Project

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Preface to the Student

This scientific description of the Cuzco dialect of Quechua was prepared by the Quechua Language Materials Project of Cornell University under contract with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education Contract No. SAE-9513, authorized by Public Law 85-864, Title VI, Part A, Section 602.

The student will find in these pages an interpretation of the living language: analysis is based on recently collected data, conclusions have been thoroughly checked with native speakers of the Cuzco dialect. The principal investigators who collaborated on this project sincerely hope that this book will serve as a useful reference for all those who propose to work in the Cuzco area of Peru.

Donald F. Solá
Antonio Cusihuamán G.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This book presents the phonology and grammar of the Cuzco dialect of Quechua. Of a total of perhaps five million monolingual Quechua speakers distributed throughout the Andean highlands, perhaps as many as a million live in the area where the Cuzco dialect, and other closely related dialects, are spoken. This region includes the Department of Cuzco, and adjoining portions of the Departments of Apurimac and Puno, in Peru. In urban centers in this region, and along main routes of communication, large numbers of Peruvians are bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. But the vast hinterland of high plateaus and mountain valleys is populated by an even greater number which is monolingual in Quechua, virtually illiterate, and economically very depressed.

In presenting this description, and the separate pedagogical materials also prepared by the Cornell Quechua Language Materials Project, we have in mind that improvement of communication with the Quechua-speaking population may help to solve some of their socio-economic problems. But we also believe that our own culture has something to gain, both philosophically and esthetically, from an objective view of Quechua language behavior. Some of this behavior is quite comparable to our own and some is very different. But even more important, the structure of Quechua is an internally consistent and coherent system, perfectly adequate and often exceptionally well suited for the expression of the greatest subtleties of thought.

Recent years have seen a burgeoning of interest in scientific linguistic description, and Quechua language studies have profited from this. Where in the early 1950's only a few technically sophisticated studies were available, several grammars with some pretensions to completeness, and applying modern descriptive techniques, have recently appeared. A bibliography is given at the end of this book.

Antonio Cusihuamán Gutiérrez has been the principal informant for this study. He was born May 10, 1934 in Chinchero, located in the Province of Urubamba, Department of Cuzco. Quechua was his first language; all of his schooling through the secondary level took place in Chinchero or the city of Cuzco. He has not resided for any length of time in other Quechua-speaking areas, but he has completed his studies at the Escuela Normal Superior "Enrique Guzmán y Valle", at La Cantuta near Lima. This research on Cuzco Quechua has covered a period of seven years, during all of which Mr. Cusihuamán and the principal investigator have been together in Peru or at Cornell University. In the course of our work Mr. Cusihuamán has learned a great deal about linguistic procedures and tests of relevance. Many of the heretofore undescribed patterns to be found in this book are to be credited to his patient and thoughtful consideration of certain analytic problems in Quechua.

This study, issued now in mimeographed form, is not without errors and inconsistencies, some of which may leap to the reader's eye. We apologize for all of them. Even as this book is issued we are beginning a general revision for the purpose of letter-press publication, hopefully to take place in the near future.

CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

The phonemic inventory of Cuzco Quechua consists of three vowels, thirty consonants, a phoneme of stress, and another of juncture. Their distribution is best stated with reference to the syllable. Three terminal contours are recognized: falling, rising, and level.

2.1 Vowel Phonemes.

2.11 Inventory.

i u
a

2.12 Vowel Allophones.

/i/	[I]	lower-high front unrounded; somewhat higher and tenser before /y/; lower and laxer in the vicinity of post-velar consonants.
/a/	[ɑ]	low central unrounded; fronted before /y/.
/u/	[ʊ]	lower-high back rounded; fronted before palatals; lower in the vicinity of post-velar consonants.

2.2 Consonant Phonemes..

2.21 Inventory.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	post-velar
voiceless stops:					
simple	p	t	č	k	q
aspirated	p"	t"	č"	k"	q"
glottalized	p'	t'	č'	k'	q'
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiced spirants		s	š	x	h
nasals	m	n	ñ		
tap		r			
laterals		l	l̃		
glides			y	w	

In some sub-dialects of Cuzco the labio-dental spirant /f/ and the retroflex alveolar voiced spirant /ř/ have phonemic status in systems otherwise comparable with the above.

2.22 Consonant Allophones. The preceding chart shows the positions and manners of articulation of the principle allophones. It is worthy of note that the post-velar spirant /h/ is characterized by heavy turbulence. Conditioned variants are as follows.

/p/ bilabial spirant [ɸ] in syllable-final position; stop [p] elsewhere.

/h/ pharyngeal [h] in initial position; post-velar [x] elsewhere.

/n/ velar [ŋ] in syllable-final position except where followed by apico-alveolar stops; apico-alveolar [n] elsewhere.

2.3 Stress and Juncture. The stress contrast of Cuzco Quechua involves two significant levels, strong and weak. Weak stress has two allophones, the stronger of the two occurring on checked syllables. Strong stress is marked by the acute diacritic, or by a space if no diacritic is written. In the latter case strong stress occurs on the penultimate syllable before space and, in words of more than four syllables, on the first syllable after the space.

The phonetic characteristic of juncture is principally the unvoicing of the vowel of the preceding syllable. If the vowel is preceded by a voiced consonant, juncture cannot follow the vowel. Thus, juncture is not written, but may be considered potential, at any space which follows a syllable beginning with voiceless consonant plus vowel. Juncture also stands between the velar allophone of /n/ and a following vowel.

2.4 The Phonological Word. No highly reliable phonetic characteristic serves to mark the boundaries between wordlike units. Juncture is totally reliable where it occurs, but it occurs sporadically. Isolability is perhaps most useful as a criterion, but the native speaker is often uncertain, or speakers disagree as to isolability with regard to complex examples. It is best on the whole to employ grammatical criteria for the definition of a technically useful morphological word. [redacted] Spaces used to separate Quechua words in examples are therefore grammatically determined, even though they may serve to mark also the position of stress and juncture. A hyphen is sometimes used in the transcription with the value of space. In some occurrences hyphen signals stress and potential juncture. [redacted]

2.5 Phoneme Distribution. The syllable always contains as nucleus a vowel, which may be preceded or followed by consonantal margins. Syllables in indigenous words follow the pattern (C)V(C), but deviations occur in Spanish borrowings, where virtually the full range of Spanish syllable-initial and medial clusters are found. Intervocalic single consonants are regarded as syllable-initial.

In indigenous words, any consonant phoneme may occur in syllable-initial position, with the exceptions that /š/ and /x/ do not occur after pause. Consonants which do not occur in in syllable-final position include all stops except /p/, and /š/ and /ñ/.

Medial consonant clusters are generally disyllabic; exceptions occur only in Spanish loans.

2.6 Terminal Contours. The falling contour is represented by period /./ or question mark /?/, the rising contour by question mark immediately following an accented syllable /´?/, and the level contour by comma /,/ or semicolon /;/. Where two representations are possible, the choice is determined by syntactic criteria.

CHAPTER 3: MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.1 Phonologically Conditioned Alternations.

3.11 At Boundaries.

/n/ or /m/. /n/ is replaced by /m/ before a bilabial stop: /saran/ 'his corn' : /sarampis/ 'his corn also'.

3.12 Morpheme Internal. Some stems have two or more freely alternating shapes. The most frequent types of these alternations involve intervocalic /q"/ and /k"/ as follows: aq"a or aha or ahya 'chicha (corn beer)', naq"a or naha 'a while ago': mik"uy or mixuy or mixyuy 'to eat', uk"u or uxu 'interior', puxu or puxyu 'spring (of water)'. However, some stems with intervocalic velar or post-velar stops or spirants are invariable, e.g., laq"a 'dark, qxu 'cough'.

Less frequent types of stem alternations are seen in: miIma or wiIma 'wool', wat'iya or wat"iya 'bake', haIp'a or aIpa 'earth', yawar or rawar 'blood', rap'i or rap'a 'leaf', yuraq or ruyaq 'white'.

3.2 Morphologically Conditioned Alternations.

Morphologically conditioned and non-automatic alternations of suffix form are described in the following chapters as the suffixes are introduced.

3.3 Morphophonemic Transcription.

It was noted in 2.4 that spaces used to separate words in examples are grammatically determined. The space is therefore a morphophonemic rather than a phonemic symbol, although it often serves also to signal the occurrence of phonemic stress and juncture. Similarly, the hyphen separates morphological words grouped in pendant phrases (see

though in this case there is no implication of phonemic stress and juncture. To the contrary, a pendant phrase such as *puri[illegible]-kamuš-kanki* 'you will walk right along', consisting of three morphological words, is a single phonological word. Stress falls on the first and penultimate syllables of the phrase and juncture may precede or follow but not interrupt the phrase.

In one type of construction involving stem reduplication, the hyphen is used as a word separator and may signal stress and juncture: *takan-takan* 'punching'.

In one type of pendant phrase *s-k* represents phonemic /š/, e.g. *kas-kan* /kášan/ 'it is'.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENCLITICS

The stem-forming enclitics -ľa and -ča, both of diminutive meaning, are not fully discussed in the present chapter (see Chapter 6). All other enclitics of the Cuzco dialect are presented in Chart 1. Unlike -ľa and -ča, the charted enclitics always follow all inflectional affixes of the word to which they are added, and they are always added to the last word of a phrase. The enclitics are not homogenous as to function: -ľa, -ča, -qa, and sometimes -tah have valence to the functor to which they are added; the others qualify the entire utterance.

In the chart the sign >< separating orders means that the order is variable. In citing examples both orders are demonstrated. Where convenient, examples are provided of the occurrence of the particular enclitic with both word stems and phrasal stems, and with stems of all classes. An attempt is also made to exemplify all of the high frequency co-occurrences of enclitics, though the complete inventory of such combinations is too large to give examples of them all.

Chart 1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	-ña	-pis			-qa		-ya		
-puni ><	><		-tah	-ču	———	-hina	-ča	-ri	-´
					-mi				
	-rah	-pas					-ma		
					-si				

4.1 Definitive -puni. Variable in order with order 2, -puni asserts emphatically that there is no doubt about the identity or occurrence of the referent: qusqutaqa ril̃aniypunin sapa p'unčaypas. 'I go to Cuzco every single day.' paqarinqa hamusahpunin wasiykita. 'I'll come to your house tomorrow without fail.' nuqa kikiypunin quniy, čayčus qunqarunman. 'I myself gave it to him; then why should he forget? manapunin liwruytaqa quykimanču. 'By no means will I give you my book. čaxrančistarahpunin ruwasunčis. 'In any case we have to work in the field first.'

4.2 Stative. Variable in order with order 1, the two stative morphemes give information as to whether the referent continues in a former state or has entered a new state. Reference may be to place, time, or condition.

4.21 *Inceptive -ña*. Translated generally as 'already' in declarations, 'yet' in questions, and 'no more' or 'no longer' in negations, the morpheme implies a change in state: *ñan mixuruniyña.* 'I already ate.' *qanña mixus-kanki.* 'You'll be eating shortly.' *wil̃asahñayâ.* 'I'll tell him shortly.' *tukunkiñaču?* 'Have you finished yet?- *qusqupiñačá tupasunčis.* 'Well, we'll meet shortly in Cuzco.'

4.22 *Continuative -rah*. Translated as 'still', *-rah* implies that the state of the referent is unchanged. The morpheme has overtones of politeness: *manarahmi tukuniyču.* 'I haven't finished yet. *wasiytarah rirusah.* 'I'll go to my house first (as planned).' *kas-kanrahmi siyaruqa.* 'There are still some cigarettes.' *kunankamaqa tukunñapuničá.* 'In any case he will have finished by now.' *kas-kanrahpuniyá riki.* 'There will certainly be some left.'

The question-answer sets which follow show typical usage of the stative enclitics: *ñaču mixurankiña?* 'Did you eat yet?' *arí, ñan mixuniyña.* 'Yes, I ate.' *manan mixuniyrahču.* 'I haven't eaten yet.'; *čaymantari l̃ank'arankirahču?* 'And then, did you continue working?' *arí, l̃ank'aniyrahmi.* 'Yes, I continued to work.' *manan l̃ank'aniyñaču.* 'I didn't work anymore.';

karurahču qusqu kas-kan? 'Is it still far to Cuzco?' *arí, karurahmi.* 'Yes, it's still far.' *manan karuñaču.* 'It's not far now.'

4.3 Additive. Variable in order with order 2, the two morphemes of this order generally cooridnate an utterance with a preceding utterance.

4.31 Coordinative -pis. Translated as 'and', 'too', or 'also': *nuqapis risahmi.* 'I'll go too.' *wayqiypas hamunqan.* 'My brother will come too.' *čahaypas nuqah wakaymi.* 'That also is my cow.' *čaypis rumin.* 'That is (made of) stone too.' *manan nuqapis yačaniyču.* 'I don't know either.'

4.32 Alternative -pas. Translated as 'and, but, then, so' or other such terms: *qampas riyá.* 'Then you go (if you wish). *mayrahčá hamunqapas.* 'I wonder when he'll come then!' *paypas ričunyá.* 'Then let him go.' *hamučumpas amapas.* 'Let him come or not (it doesn't matter).' *paramunqapasčá.* 'So perhaps it will rain.' *paqarinpasñaqa ruwasunmán.* 'So why don't we do it tomorrow then.' *unumampasrahqa riruwáh.* 'Then it would be best for you to fetch water first.' *hinarahpas kačunyá.* 'So let it be then.' *tayrinñapas tukupusunyá.* 'So we'll finish it in the afternoon then.'

When *-pis* or *-pas* co-occur with abstract stems the resulting forms can always be translated by English indefinite forms like 'anyone, noone, anywhere, nowhere, anything, nothing, whenever, never' and the like: *manan imapis kasqaču.* 'There wasn't anything (there).' *manan maytapas riniyču.* 'I didn't go anywhere.' *hayk'ahñapas kutimuyá.* 'Return whenever you can.' *pipas hamuranču?* 'Did anybody come?'

4.4 *Subsequential -tah.* The referent is later in temporal occurrence than other referents. *-tah* never appears on the initial utterance in a series of exchanges. It is often translated as 'and, next, so', but, for many utterances marked by *-tah* as non-initial, no item in the translation refers to it directly: *maytah lapisniyri?* 'So where's my pencil?' *imatatah ruwas-kankiri?* 'So what are you doing?' *qusqutaqa rinaytáh karán.* 'I had to go to Cuzco then.' *mayistrutáh kas-kaníy.* 'Well I'm the teacher.' *čiqahtatáh!* 'Is that so!'

4.5 *Negative-interrogative -ču.*

4.51 *Negative.* When the meaning is negative, the word with *-ču* is generally preceded, rarely followed, by one of the negating words such as *manan* (general) or *ama* (prohibitory). Negative *-ču* may be followed by the topic marker *-qa*: *manan munaniyču.* 'I don't want any.' *manan kanču.* 'There aren't any.' *apaniyču manan.* 'I didn't take it away.' *ama ruwayču.* 'Don't do it.' *aman rinkiču.* 'Don't go.' *ni kanču.*

'There aren't any.' *nimá quwampasču.* 'The fact is that he hasn't given me any.' *kančuri akasu.* 'I'm sorry, there aren't any.' *ruwas-kaniyču.* 'I haven't done it.' *paračunčuqa amayá.* 'I hope it doesn't rain.'

4.52 *Interrogative*. With interrogative meaning *-ču* is always associated with interrogative intonation of the unstressed type. *-ču* always marks a request for a yes or no answer, as opposed to questions which ask for a description or specification. Interrogative *-ču* does not co-occur with the topic-marker *-qa*: *qusquta rikunkiču?* 'Do you know Cuzco?' *kastiľanuta yačankiču?* 'Do you know Spanish?' *t'antataču munas-kanki?* 'Do you want some bread?' *mamaykihču qampaču, pihpaču čay waka?* 'Is that cow your mother's, or your's, or whose?' *wasiyuh, uywayuh, aľpayuh imaču kanki?* 'Do you have a house, cattle, and land? *ñaču uyaykita mahč"i-kurankiña?* 'Did you wash your face already?' *uyaykita mahč"i-kurankiñaču?* 'Did you wash your face already?' *manaču mixunki?* 'Aren't you going to eat?' *amaču qulqita qusah?* 'Don't you want me to give him money?' *imaľataču kahtinqa?* 'What would you like?' *piwanču tuparankipas?* 'Or did you meet someone?' *maytaču iča ris-kankipas?* 'Or are you going somewhere?' *paqarinqa iča qusquta risunmantahču?* 'Or suppose we go to Cuzco tomorrow?'. *unutaču iča ahataču munas-kanki?* 'Do you want water or chicha?'

4.6 Markers. Two categories of enclitics, the topic marker -qa and the validators, are markers, which engage in an interplay at the clause level with the negative-interrogative -ču. Discussion of the distribution of these elements with respect to each other is therefore postponed for presentation in the chapter on free-order syntax.

4.61 Topic-marker -qa. The speaker calls special attention to one or more of the functors of a clause by adding the topic marker -qa: nuqaqa qusqumantan kaniy. 'I'm from Cuzco.' čahay runaqa manan kastil̃anuta rimanču. 'That man doesn't speak Spanish.' hawa l̃ahta runakunaqa papatan l̃ank'anku. 'The men out in the country grow potatoes.' wakatan mičis-kan huwančaqa. 'Juanito is pasturing the cows.' l̃ank'ahtaqa purihtaqa yarqa-kuwanku č'aki-kuwankun. 'We who work and travel are affected by hunger and thirst.' kačita asukarta imaqa rantimuwáh. 'You should have bought both salt and sugar.' paqarinqa papatačá al̃amusahku. 'Tomorrow we'll have to dig the potatoes.' kunanmi ahasunqa. 'We're going to make the chicha now.' manan maqaniyčuqa. 'But I haven't struck (him).' manan wayramuntahčuqa. 'Fortunately it's not windy.' amaqa riwahčú. 'Then you shouldn't go.'

4.62 Validators. The degree of authority with which an assertion in made is indicated by a validator. In contrast to other Quechua dialects, Cuzco uses only two categories of validation, witness and reportive.

4.621 Witness -mi. The enclitic -mi (occurring as -n after vowels) signifies that the speaker has witnessed or participated in the event to which he refers: kaymi wasiy. 'This is my house.' łahtatan ris-kaniy. 'I'm going to town.' arí, yačanin. 'Yes, I know.' manan yačaniyču. 'I don't know.' sutiykitaqa yačanin. 'I know your name.' husiyčaqa liyiyta yačanmi. 'Little José knows how to read.' husiyčaqa manan liyiyta yačanču. 'Little José doesn't know how to read.' nuqan qusqutaqa risah. 'I'm going to Cuzco.' nuqaqa qusqutan risah. 'My plan is to go to Cuzco.' nuqaqa qusquta risahmi. 'I, however, am going to Cuzco.' manan wakay kanču. or wakaymi mana kanču. 'My cow has disappeared.' manan wakayqa kanču. 'I don't have any cows.' nuqan taytan kaniy. 'I'm his father.' paymi taytan (kas-kan). 'He is his father.' yača-čihmi kaniy. 'I am a teacher.' payqa yača-čihmi. 'He is a teacher.' t'antata kisuta iman munas-kaniy. 'I want both bread and cheese.' papatawan saratawanmi rantimusunčis. 'We-re going to buy both potatoes and corn.' q'uñi-rimus-kantahmi aswan kunan p'unčayqa. 'Fortunately the weather is good today.' inti haykuyčatapuniñatahmi čayapusunčis wasitaqa. 'We'll arrive at the house certainly by sunset.' manatahmi sasaču kasqa. 'Well it wasn't difficult.' iman sutiyki? 'What's your name?'

4.622 Reportive -si. The enclitic -si (occurring as -s after vowels) signifies that the speaker knows of the event he refers to only through hearsay. The reportive is commonly used in story-telling: *luwisqa čuxčuwansi unqus-kan.* 'They say that Luis is sick with malaria.' *unutas apamunki.* 'Someone says you'll bring water.' *lisassi pal̄amuna kas-kan.* 'They say the ollucos have to be harvested.' *wasipis suyamunkičis.* 'He said that you should wait in the house.' *čahay runaqa yačansi čuxču hampiyta.* 'They say that man knows how to cure malaria.' *al̄ičankis čay wasita.* 'They say you're going to fix up that house.' *as, l̄ank'asunčissi.* 'Yes, he says we're going to work.' *hamunkičissi! mamačan wahas-kasunkičis.* 'You-all will come! Mother's calling you-all.' *papata, uqata, lisasta imas tarpumusunčis.* 'They say we're going to plant potatoes, ocas, and ollucos.' *ñas iskuylaqa kiča-kunña* or *iskuylaqa kiča-kunñas.* 'They say the school is already open.' *manas qusqutaqa risunrahču.* 'They say we're not going to Cuzco yet.' *amas maytapas tinkiču.* 'They say you're not going anywhere.' *hayk'ahsi kutimunki?* 'He wants to know when you will return?' *imatas ruwanki kunan?* 'He wants to know what you'll do today? *paytapassi riki bali-kuwah l̄ank'a-ysimunasunkipahqa.* 'In any case, you should ask him to help you work.' *imatapastahsi qunqas-kawah.* 'He says you shouldn't forget anything.' *naha tutaqa paramusqasyá.* 'Well, he says it really rained last night.' *mak'assiyá p'akira-kapusqa, čaysi mana unu taxyapusqaču.* 'They say the jug got broken,so it wouldn't hold water.'

Before the enphatic enclitic *-ya*, the reportive morpheme can also occur in the shape *-sis*, without any change in meaning: *nuqapuwansisyari l̄ank'ahqa risunčis.* 'The fact is that you and I have to go to work, according to him.

The reportive, in its usual meaning, can be preceded by *-ču* interrogative: *paqarin hamunkičus?* 'He asked if you will come tomorrow.' *qusquta risahčus?* 'Did he ask if I'm going to Cuzco?'

However, when the reportive is preceded by *-ču* negative the total meaning is conjectural, though an aura of reportive validation sometimes persists: *kanqačus iča manatahčus misaqa.* 'There may be a mass, or there may not, Who knows!' *kutimusahčus iča manañačus kampis.* 'I wonder if I'll ever return or not.' *asiytačus puriyman, l̃ukul̃ačá puriwah.* 'I think you shouldn't have walked so slowly; you should walk quickly.' *mana taytayuhčus kasqaniy, mana mamayuhčus kasqaniy, runah l̃ahtampi purinaypah.* 'Am I without a father,, am I without a mother, so that I must travel in strange lands?' *pičus mayčus tapusunki nuqamanta čayta, manan rihsiniyču ninki.* 'Should anyone ask about me, tell them you don't know me.'

4.7 *Simulative -hina*. As an enclitic, *-hina* occurs only immediately after the conjectural *-čus* sequence just described (but see also the relational suffix *-hina*, described in Chapter 5). This enclitic occurs in the forms *-hina* or *-ina*, with no apparent conditioning factor. Interestingly, the whole sequence *-čushina* can be altogether replaced by *-suna*, without change of meaning. The enclitic *-hina* implies similitude; the referent appears to have characteristics similar to known states or events:

intičushina tutayas-kasqá! 'It looks like an eclipse of the sun!' paqaringa yaqačusina hamusah. 'It appears that tomorrow I'll be able to come.' minč"apa manasuna ƚank'aswanču. 'I think that we won't work day-after-tomorrow.' ñačushina papaqa puqu-nayamus-kasqaña. 'It looks like the potatoes are just about ripe.' asƚatawanqa para-rimunqačusinamá. 'I'm pretty sure that later on it's going to begin to rain.' kunanqa ƚank'ayta usa-čisuntahsuna. 'I think that now we're going to move along with the work.'

4.8 Emphatics.

4.81 -ya. The emphatic -ya has very general meaning which may not be reflected in a translation, especially when the enclitic is added to an imperative or other expression already conveying some emphasis: hamuyá hinaspa kaypi tiya-kusunčis. 'Come, then. We'll sit here.' hakuyá ƚukuƚa. 'Let's go quickly, then.' rinqayá, pahtatah qunqarunman. 'Have him go, then. Take care that he doesn't forget.' wakayá q"awanay. 'Well, I have to take care of the cows.' wakayyá q"awanay. 'Well, I have to take care of my cows.' payqa rikunsisyá lima ƚahtataqa. 'Well, he says that he knows the city of Lima.' ričunyari! imatatah hark'a-kunkiri? 'Let him go, then. Why should you stop him?'

4.82 -ča. By using the emphatic -ča the speaker expresses surprise at a sudden realization: imača hamus-kasqa! 'I don't know what could be coming!' runačá apiki apa-kun alqučaytaqa.

'I'll bet they've taken away my little dog!' *manapasčá qupuwankiču qulqiytaqa.* 'But perhaps you won't give me back my money!' *hampi rantinaypis kanqačá riki.* 'I'll have to buy the medicine too.' *sama-kusunčisčá kunan p'unčayqa.* 'We'll just have to rest today.' *manapastahčá hamunqaču čay wiraqačaqa.* 'At best that fellow won't show up.'

4.83 *-ma*. With *-ma*, the speaker emphasizes his own insistence: *hatunñamá kasqanki.* 'Oh, but you've grown big!' *manamá hamunču turaykiqa.* 'But your brother hasn't come.' *paranqasunamá.* 'It certainly looks as if it will rain.' *qulqitaqa hap'is-kaniymá.* 'I have the money.' *kusatatahmá kunanqa rup"ayamus-kan.* 'How beautifully (the sun) is shining today.' *unumanqa riwahmari.* 'Well, you should have gone for water.'

4.9 *Responsive -ri*. The enclitic *-ri* indicates that the utterance responds to a preceding utterance. Thus *-ri* is never affixed to the first utterance in a series of exchanges, and it occurs frequently in follow-up questions which are in the same vein as a preceding question or statement. Utterances of one word which include *-ri* always include also the emphatic *-´*: *maymantatah hamus-kankiri?* 'Where are you coming from?' *qanri munankiču kafiyta?* 'And do you want coffee?' *l̄ixl̄a awaytari yačankičisču?* But, do you know how to knit shawls?' *manaču qusqutari rinkičis?* 'And aren't you going to go to Cuzco?'

amayari yukarunwankičuqa. 'But you won't deceive me, then.' *akasu nuqačuri.* 'It wasn't I, then.' *akasu nuqaču ruwaniyri.* 'I didn't do it.' *qanrí?* 'And you?' *manačurí?* 'And why not?'

4.10 *Emphatic -´.* The simplest form of emphasis consists of a shift of the stress on the final word of an utterance from the usual penultimate position to the final syllable of the word. For the most part this is an intonational phenomenon. However, when *-tah* occurs on some word earlier in such an utterance, it also is stressed: *ima ninkín?* 'What did you say?' *pi hamunqa niwančismí?* 'Who's coming, did he tell us?' *maytan rinančisqa kas-karán?* 'Where were we supposed to go? *imatas musq"u-kus-kasqaniypás?* 'What was I dreaming about? *imá?* 'What?' *nuqá?* 'I?' *čiqahtá?* 'Is that so?' *ačačáw! nuqapáh?* 'Goodness! For me?' *qanrí?* 'And you?' *mamaykirí?* 'And what about your mother?' *papataqa suwasqa-kutahsí!* 'Well, he says they-ve stolen the potatoes!' *iča rirančús!* 'Oh! perhaps he went!' *manan imatapis rawaniyčú!* 'But I haven't done anything!' *mayistrutáh kas-kaníy!* 'I'm the teacher!' *susanatáh sutiyqá!* 'Well my name is Susan!' *ñatáh mixu-čiykiñá!* 'But I've fed you already!' *arí, taytayqa rintáh turačaypuwán!* 'Yes, my father went, and my little brother too!' *qaynaqa tupančistáh!* 'Well we met the last time!' *hamuy, taytáy.* 'Come, sir!' *al̄il̄anču kas-kanki, mamáy?* 'Are you all right, ma'am?'

CHAPTER FIVE: INFLECTION

Quechua inflectional affixes are added to *simple*, *derived*, and *phrasal* stems. Two affix patterns, *substantive* inflection and *verb* inflection, are described in the present chapter; the stems, and stem-formative affixes, are described in Chapter Six. However, it is convenient here to state that stems of all the above types are subject to intersecting classification as substantive stems (co-occurring with substantive affixes), verb stems (co-occurring with verb affixes), ambivalent stems (co-occurring with both substantive and verb affixes), and particles (not occurring with inflectional affixes).

5.1 *Substantive inflection*. The substantive paradigm includes categories of person allocation involving an incorporated subsystem of plurality, number, and case. The following chart shows the order, relative to the stem, of occurring suffixes.

Substantive Suffixes

1	2		3	4
empty morph	*person allocation*		*number*	*case*
	a) person	*b) plural*		
-ni	-y		-kuna	-ta
		-ku		-ta
	-yki			-man
		-čis		-manta
	-n			-pi
				-pah
				-wan
				-kama
				-pura
				-hina
				-pa
				-rayku

5.11 -ni, empty morph. The morph -ni, with no meaning exclusive to itself, occurs automatically immediately after a substantive stem terminating in a consonant when a person allocation suffix, or one of the stem-formatives -yuh, -nka, or -nti, follows. This is a morphophonemic matter best separated from grammatical discussion. Thus: q"ačunniymi čay sipas warmiqa. 'That young girl is my sister-in-law.' mink'ayniykunapahmi ahata apas-kaniy. 'I'm taking chicha to my workers.' čunka qančisniyuh. 'seventeen'. uwixa č'unčulniyuhta wayk'uru-kusun. 'We'll prepare some sheep tripe.' kuskanninkačá t'aqana-kapusun papataqa. 'Well, we'll have to divide up the potatoes half-and-half between us.' tawa muruyninka rakina-kuyčis čay sarata. 'Distribute that corn four ears to each person.' čunka huhniyuhninkan quwanku uwixataqa. 'They gave each of us eleven sheep.' tamburnintin hamunki čaxrata, nuqatah qinantin. 'You'll come to the field with a drum, and I with a flute.' In the following examples where the plural -kuna intervenes, -ni is optional: munahnikunantin sumahta tiya-ri-kusunčis. 'We'll be together in a nice party with friends.' hatučahnikunayuhtayá papaykitaqa qumuway. 'Along with the bigger ones, give me your potatoes too then.'

5.12 Person allocation. Within the sub-category of person (2a on the chart), 1st, 2nd, and unimplicated categories are contrasted. Within the sub-category of plural (2b), neutral and deferential categories are contrasted. All combinations are not possible: 1st person -y is followed only by neutral plural -ku, and 2nd person *-yki* only by deferential plural *-čis*. However, unimplicated person *-n* may be followed by *-ku* or *-čis*.

5.121 *Person*.

5.1211 *-y, 1st person*. The addition of *-y* to the substantive stem allocates possession or reference to the speaker; thus the translation 'my' is appropriate: *umaymi nanawas-kan.* 'My head hurts.' *hawasniytan pal̃as-kaniy.* 'I'm harvesting my beans.'

5.1212 *-yki, 2nd person.* The addition of *-yki* to the substantive stem allocates possession or reference to the addressee; thus the translation 'your (singular)' is appropriate: *taytaykita waharamuy.* 'Go and call your father.' *qulqiykita manuyuway.* 'Lend me some of your money.' *mak'asniykita mañayuway.* 'Lend me your jug.'

5.1213 *-n, unimplicated person*. The addition of *-n* to the substantive stem allocates possession or reference to some third person not involved in the conversation; thus translations of 'his, her, its' are appropriate. This meaning is modified however in co-occurrences of *-n* with the deferential plural *-čis* (see 5.1222): *ñañaykih puskanta rikurankiču?* 'Did you see your sister's spindle?' *huwančaqa wayqimpuwansi hamunqaku.* 'It's said that Juanito is coming, along with his brother.' *uwixata ñak'aspaykiqa ama yawarninta usu-činkiču.* 'When you slaughter the sheep don't spill blood all over.'

5.122 *Plural.*

5.1221 *-ku, neutral.* The occurrence of *'ku* after a person allocation suffix indicates plurality of the referee; thus the sequence *-yku* implies plurality of the speaker as referent and is translated by 'our (exclusive)', and the sequence *-nku* implies plurality of an unimplicated person and is translated 'their': *wakaykuqa ñan wačarunña.* 'Our cow has already given birth.' *asukarniykun tukuru-kun.* 'Our sugar is all used up.'

5.1222 *-čis, deferential.* The occurrence of *-čis* after a person allocation suffix also indicates plurality of the referee. The sequence *-ykičis* is translated as 'your (plural)', but the sequence *-nčis* is conventionally translated by 'one's' or 'our (inclusive)'. The latter is much more commonly given as a translation, with the consequence that analysts have generally identified the sequences *-nčis* and *-yku* as first person plural morphemes, contrasting with regard to inclusivity. However, considering that most Quechua translations into Spanish have been made by educated bilinguals, and that much bias from Spanish paradigms may consequently have been introduced into earlier analyses, we have preferred to be guided by formal evidence in setting up classes: *mixunaykičista quyuwayčis.* 'Please give me some of your food.' *čahayču wasiykičis?* 'Is that your (pl.) house?' *hayk'ahmi lisasniykičista al̄ampunkičis?* 'When will you harvest your ollucos? *papančisqa ñan t'ikayus-kanña.* 'Our potato plants are already flowering.' *l̄ank'ahninčiskunapah kukata rakiyuy.* 'Please distribute coca to our workers.'

5.13 Number. Singular number is not marked overtly. The substantive plural is signalled by -kuna. In phrases including a plural numeral or quantifier -kuna is optional. Plural is not overtly marked after occurrences within the same word of -ku, the neutral plural morpheme discussed above: maypin irqikuna? 'Where are the boys?' iskay p'uyñupi unumanqa riy. or iskay p'uyñukunapi unumanqa riy. 'Go and get water in two jugs.' čahay runaqa ask"a wawayuhmi. or čahay runaqa ask"a wawakunayuhmi. 'That man has many children.' čuriykunaqa kasarukamañan kanku. 'My sons are all married.' č'ul̃al̃an wawaykuqa. 'We have only one child.' ask"an wawaykuqa. 'We have many children.' čahay warmih ususinkunaqa sultiral̃an kanku. 'That woman's daughters are still unmarried.' paykunahqa iskaymi wasinku. 'They have two houses.' wasimasiykunan wakankuwanrah asnunkuwanrah tuku-činku pastuyta. 'My neighbors have used up my pasture with their cows and their burros.'

5.14 Relators. The case system of Cuzco Quechua involves thirteen categories, of which one, the nominative, is not overtly marked. As shown in the following examples, the nominative form may function as subject, or as the complement of an equivalent clause (see Chapter 8): mičin mixurapusqa kisutaqa. 'The cat ate up the cheese.' alqun kaniruwan. 'The dog bit me.' čahaypin puxl̃as-kanku irqikunaqa. 'The children are playing over there.' nuqan yača-čihqa kaniy. 'I am the teacher.' kay taytan kama-čihniyku. 'This man is our leader.'

The twelve marked categories are *accusative*, *qualitative*, *propensitive*, *ablative*, *locative*, *purposive*, *interactive*, *instrumental*, *allative*, *possessive*, *causative*, and *simulative*. In the chart below they are organized according to their occurrence relative to each other in the cases of double marking of relation.

Relators

1	2	3
-pa (possessive)	-ta (accusative)	-wan (instrumental)
-rayku (causative)	-ta (qualitative)	-kama (allative)
-hina (simulative)	-man (propensitive)	
	-manta (ablative)	
	-pi (locative)	
	-pah (purposive)	
	-pura (interactive)	

For convenience in building comprehensive examples, the following individual presentations treat first the relators of order 2, then orders 3 and 1, in that sequence.

5.141 *-ta, accusative*. The accusative *-ta* marks the object of a transitive clause: *mamayqa qusqutan rin.* 'My mother went to Cuzco.' *unutan munas-kaniy.* 'I want water.' *papata, sarata, ayčata ima rantimunki.* 'You will buy potatoes, corn and meat.' *rihsinin paytaqa.* 'I know him.' *manan kastil̃anutaqa yačaykuču.* 'We don't know Spanish.' *ama ahataqa quwayču.* 'Don't give me (any) chicha.'

5.142 *-ta, qualitative*. The qualitative *-ta* marks terms that are in an adverbial relation to the clause core and give information about the nature of the action with regard to difficulty, admirability, quantity, temperature, color, time of day or week, spatial relationship, or other such qualities: *al̄inta wisq'anki punkutaqa.* 'Close the door well.' *manan al̄intaču čaxrataqa l̄ank'amusqa.* 'He had worked the field poorly.' *sumahtan rup"ayamus-kan.* 'It (the sun) is shining beautifully.' *mil̄aytan musq"u-kuniy.* 'I had a bad dream' *limp"iyuta makiykitaqa mahč"i-kunki.* 'You must wash your hands clean.' *q"il̄itan unutaqa apamusqa.* 'He brought the water dirty.' *l̄apantañan papa al̄aytaqa tukumpuyku.* 'We've all finished harvesting the potatoes.' *wakil̄antarah q'ačutaqa qarayunki wakakunapah.* 'You must give only part of the fodder to the cows.' *ask"ata l̄ant'ataqa huñumunki.* 'You must gather lots of firewood.' *pisil̄ata kačitaqa čurayuy mankaman.* 'You must put only a little salt in the pot.' *hatuntan wasitaqa pirqasunčis.* 'We have to make the house big.' *huč'uyl̄atan sapatutaqa rantimusqa.* 'He bought the shoes small.' *pukatan pul̄irataqa munan luwisačaqa.* 'Luisita wants her skirt to be red.' *q'uñitan ahataqa munaniy.* 'I want the chicha hot.' *ama čiritaču mixunataqa quway.* 'Don't give me the food cold.' *tutatañan wasiytaqa čayampuniy.* 'I arrived home at night' *lunistaña kutimunki.* 'You'll return on Monday.' *kay ñannintan sahsaywamanmanqa ris-kan.* 'The way to Sacsayhuaman is by this road.' *qusquta ripuspayqa arkipantan ripusah.* 'When I go to Cuzco, I'll go by way of Arequipa.' *qan kayninta rinki, nuqatah čahayninta.* 'You go this way, and I that way.'

5.143 *-man, propensitive*. The propensitive *-man* marks terms as goals. Semantically, three actor-goal relationships are involved: 1) the actor moves toward the goal, 2) the actor will appropriate, move, or deal with the goal in some proprietary fashion, 3) the goal is the indirect recipient of the action. Under *1* as a semantic condition, the goal functions grammatically as object of a transitive clause, and a distinction is made between actors which have a physical connection with the goal, such as *ñan* 'road', *mayu* 'river', or *yarq"a* 'irrigation ditch', and actors which do not, such as *runa* 'man', *waka* 'cow'. The goal of the first type is always *-man* marked; the goal of the second type is always marked by the accusative *-ta*. Under semantic condition *2*, the goal functions grammatically as an adverbial, and only *-man* occurs. Here, an actor like *runa* 'man', or *rumi* 'stone', may occur with a *-man* marked goal, if as a result of the action the actor will occupy (in some sense, appropriate) a specific position. Under semantic condition *3*, the goal also functions as an adverbial, often in a transitive clause, and is always *-man* marked: *kay ñanmi uruwambamanqa ris-kan.* 'This is the road that goes to Urubamba.' *čahay mayuqa wil̄kamayumanmi č'ata-kapus-kan.* 'That river empties in the Vilcanota River.' *kay yarq"aqa maway čaxramanmi ris-kan.* 'This ditch goes to the irrigated fields.' *q"iswatan haykus-kaniy saraman.* 'I'm going down into the valley for corn.' *haku inlisata haykusunčis misaman.* 'We're going into the church to (hear) mass.' *unumanmi ris-kaniy puxyuta.* 'I'm going to the spring for water.' *wasi uxuman apayuy čay q'ipiykita.*

'Take your bundle into the house.' *kay uxuman pasaya-kamuy.* 'Come right in here.' *mamaykih larunman ač"uykuy.* 'Go over alongside your mother.' *p"away taytaykiman tarparunki.* 'Go and catch up with your father.' *čahay pampaman uwixata saqiramuy.* 'Go and leave the sheep there on the pampa.' *q'upan ñawiyman haykuruwan.* 'A little piece of straw went into my eye.' *kiskan čakiyman haykuruwan.* 'A thorn went into my foot.' *runas qučaman urmayusqa.* 'They say a man fell into the lake.' *wañuhkunaqa pačamanmi činkayapunku.* 'Dead people sink into the earth.' *suwamanmi čay runaqa tukupuska.* 'That man became a thief.' *panaymanmi quraniy qulqitaqa.* 'I gave the money to my sister.' *čay nisqayta wil̄anki mamaykiman.* 'Tell your mother what I told you.' *kay kartatan wayqiyman apa-čis-kaniy.* 'I'm sending this letter to my brother.' *yunkataqa kukaman, kakawuman, kafiyman iman riyku.* 'We usually go to the valley for coca, cacao, and coffee. *č'isiman hamunki wasiyta.* 'You must come to my house tonight.' *watamanqa qusqupin l̄ank'asah.* 'Next year I'm going to work in Cuzco.' *čunka p'unčay mayu kil̄amanmi p"istayqa tupamun.* 'My birthday falls on May 10.'

5.144 *-manta, ablative.* The ablative *-manta* marks an adverbial as the point in space or time from which an action originates, or as the matter on which the action is based. Translations such as 'from, of, about, since' are appropriate. *urwambamantan kaniy.* 'I'm from Urubamba.' *qusqumanta urwambamanqa manan karuñaču.* 'It isn't far from Cuzco to Urubamba.' *yunkamanta, q"iswamanta, punamanta iman runaqa qusquta hamunku.* 'The people come to Cuzco from the jungle valleys, the temperate valleys, and from the highlands.' *ahaqa saramantan ruwa-kun.* 'Chicha is made from corn.' *wik'uña wil̄mamanta punčuta awarapu-way.* 'Weave a poncho for me from vicuña wool.' *haku l̄ahtančismanta wil̄ana-kusunčis.* 'Let's tell stories about our town.' *hawal̄ahtapiqa runasimil̄amantan rimayku.* 'In the highlands we speak only Quechua.' *čahaymanta kaykaman caxrayqa.* 'My land goes from there to here.'

5.145 *-pi, locative*. The locative *-pi* marks an adverbial as the spatial or temporal location of an action, and is ordinarily translated by 'in, by means of, on,' or 'at'. An alternative form *-pu* occurs immediately before *-wan*, instrumental, when the latter implies coordinate meaning: *wilawilapin tiyaniy.* 'I live in Huilahuila.' *maypin mačupixču kas-kan?* 'Where is Machupicchu?' *čahaypin wakaqa mixus-kan.* 'The cow is eating over there.' *misa patapin liwruykiqa kas-kan.* 'Your book is on the table.' *tutayahpiču kas-kanki, čaytah mana rikunkiču?* 'Are you in the dark? Can't you see it?' *hawa kil̄apin kutipusah.* 'I'll return next month.' *haku runasimipi rimasunčis.* 'Let's talk in Quechua.' *ayakučupipas, wankabilikapipas, apurimahpipas, punupipas runasimipiqa rimankun.* 'They also speak in Quechua in Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Apurimac, and Puno.' *makinapin arkipataqa rinku.* 'They go to Arequipa by train.' *čakil̄apin qusqutaqa riyku.* 'We go to Cuzco just on foot.'

5.146 *-pah, purposive*. The purposive *-pah* marks an adverbial as the purpose of an action. Of the relators in order 2, *-pah* and *-pura* (see 5.147) are the only ones which are not entirely mutually exclusive with all others in that order, *-pah* occurs after *-man*, propensitive, with a subclass of temporal substantive roots: *qampahmi čay punčuqa.* 'That poncho is for you.' *imapahtah mask"amuwas-kankiri?* 'What were you looking for me for?' *qusqu rinaykupahmi runasimitaqa yačas-kayku.* 'We're studying Quechua in order to go to Cuzco.' *paqarimpah qasiwahču?* 'Will you be free for tomorrow? *kisuypah saraykita quwankimanču?* 'Can you sell me your corn for my cheese?' *papapahpis ul̄ukupahpis kapulitaqa qunin.* 'I sell cherries either for potatoes or for ollucos.' *watamampahñačá wačanqa wakančisqa.* 'Our cow will give birth by next year.'

5.147 *-pura, interactive*. The interactive *-pura* marks substantives which refer to two or more persons, or to classes of persons, and implies that they interact with each other or that reference is being made to their class membership. Translations such as 'each other, between, among' are often appropriate. Like *-pah*, purposive, *-pura* is not entirely mutually exclusive with other order 2 relators; it occurs before *-ta*, *-manta*, *-pi*, and *-pah*. Rarely, *-pura* as a form will precede person reference or *-pa*, possessive, in the construction, in which case it is best described as a stem-formative rather than as a relator (see Chapter 6): *l̄ahtapural̄an huñuna-kusunčis.* 'Just those of us from our town are going to get together.' sayaypurata čuray čay k'aspikunata. 'Use sticks all of the same size.' wayna sipastaqa warmapuratan tiyara-čiwanku. 'They made all of us boys and girls sit down.' paywanqa waxčapuramanta eduka-kuhmi kayku. 'She and I went to school, although we were from poor families.' nuqančispurapiqa qunayu-kusunyá imančis faltahtimpas. 'Whenever anyone of us need something, we'll be able to help each other.' čakarirupural̄apahmi kay al̄paqa. 'This piece of land is only for workers.'

The relator -kama (see 5.149) sometimes replaces or follows -pura without apparent difference in meaning: warmikaman kayku. 'We are both girls.' l̄ahtapurakaman kayku. 'We're all from the same town.'

5.148 -wan, instrumental. The instrumental -wan marks an adverbial as an instrument used to carry out an action, or as an element in a coordinate or collocative relationship with another. -wan and an alternative form -puwan form together an instrumental subclass with coordinative meaning. The latter is more restricted in distribution and implies second-order collocation, that is, it shows which element is added. -wan with coordinate meaning marks all of the members of a coordinate series, except that if the series contains more than two members the last member of the series will be marked by -puwan.

-wan, but only in the coordinate meaning, is found after all other relators (but see 5.145). However, -puwan does not co-occur with relators of order 2, though it may follow -pa and -rayku of order 1: *mink'aywanmi ƛank'a-čisah.* 'I'll have my work done by peones.' *čakitaxƛawanmi runaqa yapunku, wakatah taxƛawan.* 'The men prepare the earth with a foot-plow, the oxen with a drawn plow.' *ask"awan wanuwanqa čuranki.* 'You must use a lot of fertilizer.' *mamaywan panaywanqa wayk'us-kankun.* 'My mother and my sister are cooking.' *wakawan runawan iman čaxrataqa yapuyku.* 'We plow the field sometimes with men and sometimes with oxen.' *qampuwanmi ƛank'ahqa risunčis.* 'You too will go to work with us.' *uxupuwanmi hap'iruwan.* 'Besides that, I got a cough.' *papawan lisaspuwanmi aƛamuna kas-kan.* 'The potatoes and the ollucos are ready for harvesting.' *kaypuwan čahaypuwanmi čaxrayqa.* 'This one and that one together are my fields.' *t'antatawan quway.* 'Give me some loaves of bread too.' *k"učitawan uwixatawan mičimunki.* 'You must pasture the pigs and the sheep together.' *unumanwan rinki.* 'You must go and get water too.' *ƛant'amanwan ič"umanwanmi urqutaqa riyku.* 'We used to go to the mountain for firewood and straw.' *asnumantawan yačayamunki.* 'You must find out about the burro too.' *asindapuwan ƛank'amuhtiƛaykuñan mixuyniykuqa kan.* 'Only when we also work at the hacienda do we have enough food.' *nuqapahwan haywa-riway ahaykita.* 'Give some of your chicha to me too.' *mixuypurawan kambiyayu-kusunmanču?* 'Shall we trade our farm products?'

5.149 *-kama, allative.* The allative *-kama* has the basic meanings 'until' (with temporal terms) or 'up to' (with spatial terms). When used thus *-kama* occurs alone, after *-hina* and *-pa* of order 1, or *-man* of order 2, and is therefore classified in order 3. But otherwise *-kama* may imply certain somewhat emphatic meanings such as 'all, directly, mixed-with, purely, etc.' and under these circumstances may occur in order 1, or even after *-wan* of order 3. With this secondary meaning *-kama* combines rather freely with other relators: *paqarinkama.* 'Until tomorrow.' *agustukaman kaypiqa kasah.* 'I'll be here until August.' *kunanqa tayrimankaman Ɨank'asunčis.* 'Today we'll have to work until sunset.' *qusqukaman kay unuqa ris-kan.* 'This water goes all the way to Cuzco.' *q"arikaman wawaykunaqa.* 'My children are all boys.' *yaw q"uñakama irqi, q"uñaykita piča-kuy.* 'Hey, snotnose. Wipe the snot (from your face).' *t'urukaman makiy kas-kan.* 'My hands are all muddy.' *huh muxuwankama tarpumusunčis papataqa.* 'We'll plant our potatoes only with new seed.' *ama q'upakamawanču čura-kuy čay punčuwan.* 'Don't get your poncho all covered with straw.' *wanƗa papatakama wayk'urapusayki.* 'I'll cook all big potatoes for you.' *kay ñantakamaƗa rinki.* 'You must go directly by this road.' *aqukamatamá kačitaqa rantimusqanki.* 'The salt you bought had grains of sand in it.' *rakimankama hič'ayunki unu astamusqaykitaqa.* 'Every time you bring water, put it in the storage urn.' *ama sup"ukamamanču čuray čay p'ukuman.* 'Don't put it on that plate that's covered with hairs.' *qusqumantakaman kayku Ɨapaykupas.* 'All of us are from Cuzco.' *t'uqukamamantan aličaniy čay sakutaqa.* 'I fixed up that jacket from one that was all holes.' *čay runaqa uyapikaman č'ahlarqa-rin warminta.* 'That man slapped his wife on the face every time.' *ama unukamapiču qaray, č'aki-čiyrah čay p'ukuta.* 'Don't serve the food on the wet (plate), dry the plate first.' *imatapis paypahkamal̄an qun.* 'He gives everything to him.' *ama čay q"uñakamapahqa quyču, q"uñantarah piča-kučun.* 'Don't give anything to that snot-nose, let him clean up first.' *warmipurakaman čay iskuylapiqa kanku.* 'There are only girls in that school.'

5.150 *-pa possessive*. The possessive *-pa* occurs also in the form *-h* (after vowels) and, in the same phonological environment, optionally as *-hpa*. The *-pa* marked substantive is the possessor with relation to some other element. Commonly a *-pa* marked possessor is followed by a substantive marked for person reference: *santusah wawanqa q"aričan.* 'Santusa's child is a little boy.' But often the possessed element is simply implied: *santusahpapin mixumuyku.* 'We ate at Santusa's (house).' *nuqahmi čayqa.* 'That is mine.': *añaspa t'uqunmi čahayqa.* 'That's the skunk's den.' *papah t'ikanqa l̄awl̄ipuka yurah iman.* 'The flower of the potato is white and purple.' *pihpatah čahay wasiri?* 'Whose is that house?' *nuqančispan kay wayl̄aqa.* 'This pasture field is ours.' *tiyaykunahwan mamaypapuwanmi kay alpaqa.* 'This land is my aunts' and my mother's.' *nuqaykuhkaman čayamun unuqa.* 'The water reaches as far as our land.' *nuqaykuhkaman čay wakakunaqa.* 'All of those cows are ours.' *qampatarah l̄ank'arusunčisman čayri?* 'Suppose we work yours first.' *tiyuykihtawan rirunki.* 'You must go to your uncle's too.' *rihsisqančispaman čaya-kunki qusquta rispaykiqa.* 'When you go to Cuzco, you can stay at our acquaintance's (house).' *mayqinninčispamantarahmi qal̄arisun?* 'Which (field) of ours shall we begin first.' *don dunisuhpapimá sumah* *papaqa wiñas-kasqa!* 'How well the potatoes were growing at Don Dionisio's.' *nuqahpurakaman čay saraqa.* 'All those cornfields are all mine.'

5.151 *-rayku, causative*. The causative *-rayku* marks terms which refer to events or circumstances as the causes of the action, or reasons or excuses for it: *mačanaykiraykučá ahawasitaqa atipa-kus-kanki.* 'I'll bet you're dying to go to the tavern because you want to get drunk.' *wakayraykun pastutaqa wiña-či-kuniy.* 'I grow pasture on account of my cows.' *unqusqayraykuwanmi mana Īank'araniyču.* 'I didn't work because I was sick.' *pungu kasqayraykupuwanmi čaxray q"iparapun.* 'My work in the field got behind because I was working for the hacienda owner.' *imaraykun mana iskuylata ripurankiču?* 'Why didn't you go to school?' *taytaytan yanaparaniy, čayraykupin q'asa-kurqaniy.* 'I was helping my father, that's why I was absent.' *karupi kasqayraykupin sinčita yuyapasamuyki.* 'I worry about you because I'm so far away.'

5.152 *-hina, simulative*. The simulative *-hina* means that some other element, mentioned or implied, has characteristics similar to those referred to by the *-hina* marked substantive. Only lone occurrences of *-hina*, or occurrences where it appears in order 1 with relation to other occurring relators, are interpreted as cases of the simulative relator. Otherwise--*-hina* may be found after relators of orders 2 or 3, in which case it represents an occurrence of the enclitic *-hina* (see chapter 4).

The form *-hina* also occurs as a particle stem, though in a rare occurrence: *hinal̄aykita.* 'That's enough.' it has substantive inflectional privileges. The simulative meaning pervades the morpheme in all three functions. In the following examples *-hina* functions as the simulative relator in every case.

A morph *-nirah*, and an alternative morph *-niray*, alternate freely with *-hina* in the simulative relator function without any apparent change of meaning. Like *hina*, *nirah* also functions as a particle stem, again with the same meaning, though, unlike *hina*, *nirah* connot occur utterance initial: *runahina puriy.* 'Walk properly.' *qanhinaču nuqari kasqaniy.* 'I'm not like you.' *wawačahina inq"is-kanki.* 'You're crying like a baby.' *inti haykuyhinakaman l̄ank'amuniy qayniwančayqa.* 'Yesterday I worked until about sunset.' *wataman kunanhinamanqa maypiñačá kas-kasah.* 'Where will I be a year from today.' *qankunahinamanta runayahmi kaniy.* 'I managed to become somebody, (though I started) from where you are now.' *qayna wata kunanhinapirahmi ripunay karan.* 'I was supposed to go home a year ago today.' *iskay kargahinapahmi muxupahqa kanqa.* 'About two loads of seeds will be needed.' *sunsuhina yuka-či-kus-kanki.* or *sunsunirah yuka-či-kus-kanki.* 'You're letting yourself be deceived like a fool.' *čunkanirayta čuhl̄uta apamunki.* 'Bring some ears of corn, about ten of them.'

5.2 *Verb inflection.* The verb paradigm includes categories of mode, aspect, person reference, and conditioning, and the pertinent morphemes are suffixed to the verb stem in the order just given. Tense as an inflectional category is dubious, but the problem requires discussion (see 5.24). No verb inflectional category lends itself to interpretation as being formally obligatory since there are exceptions in every case. However, from the semantic point of view, information about either aspect or person reference is present in every member of the verb paradigm.

5.21 *Mode*. The modal inflectional subcategories are all directional in meaning: *translocative*, *benefactive*, *cislocative*, *indicative*, and *injunctive*. The order of occurring morphemes is shown on the following chart.

1	2	3	4
Translocative	*Benefactive*	*Cislocative*	*Indicative*
-mu ~ -m	-pu	-wa	*Speaker*: -sa ~ -sah *Group*: -su
			Injunctive -ču

5.211 *-mu, translocative*. The alternant *-m* occurs immediately before *-pu*, benefactive, giving the sequence *-mpu*; otherwise *-mu* occurs. The use of this morpheme implies reduction in the distance between one object or person and another object or person in order to carry out the action, and that such reduction is effected by one party of the pair: *p"away taytaykita waharamunki; čahay čimpapin ľank'as-kan.* 'Go and call your father; he's working over there.' *p"uyun kas-kan. paramunqapasčá.* 'It's cloudy. Perhaps it will rain.' *riyčis čaxrata, hinaspa papata al̄amunkičis.* 'Go to the field and harvest the potatoes.'

5.212 *-pu, benefactive*. This modal implies that an interested party (person, place, or object) is affected by the action. As mentioned above, *-pu* may be preceded by *-mu*, translocative, in the form *-m*: *čaxraykitaqa nuqan l̄ank'apuyki.* 'I worked your field for you.' *huwispapiqa nuqan rimapuniy paymantaqa.* 'At court, I spoke (to the judge) on his behalf.' *wakaykita qati-kapuy. manan astawanqa hark'aymanču.* 'Take your cows. I can't take care of them anymore.' *l̄ahtaykita kutipuy.* 'Go back to your own town.' *hayk'ahmi wak"ayta apampunki?* 'When are you going to bring back my rope?' *čay runawan tupaspaqa qulqinta quyampunki.* 'When you come across that man, give him his money.'

5.213 *-wa, cislocative*. The cislocative *-wa* means simply that the speaker or his group is affected by the action: *t'antata quway.* 'Give me some bread.' *qulqiyta qupuway.* 'Give me back my money.' *hakučis, hinaspa, čaxrata riku-čimuway.* 'Come with me and show me the field.' *čaxrapiña ahataqa qumuwanki.* 'When we get to the field, give me the chicha.' *qusqupiña ahataqa kačapuwanki.* 'When we get to Cuzco, you must treat me to some chicha.' Translocative, benefactive, and cislocative may all appear in a single word: *iskuylapiña lapisniytaqa qumpuwanki.* 'When we get to school, you must return my pencil to me.'

5.214 Indicative. The use of indicative morphemes implies that the speaker is gesturing away from himself, either on his own behalf (speaker indicative) or on behalf of his group or someone else in it (group indicative). However, these meanings are only vaguely correct. (See 5.232 for clarification.)

5.2141 Speaker indicative. Two forms occur, -sa and -sah. -sa is always followed immediately by -yki, 2nd person reference, and the meaning is that action by the speaker will affect the person addressed, i.e. an 'I - you' relationship. The contrast between quyki 'I give you' and qusayki 'I will give you' reveals that, in a sense, the gesturing involved in -sa is toward future time as well. The form -sah occurs when -yki does not follow, though this does not mean that other person reference morphemes may take the place of -yki. If necessary, such reference is made in another part of the sentence: kay liwruta wayqiyman qusah. 'I'll give this book to my brother.' kunanqa čaxraytan l̄ank'asah. 'Today, I'll work my field.'

5.2142 Group indicative. The group indicative morpheme -su appears in two combinations within single words: -sun, where -n, absolute aspect, follows, implying a gesture on behalf of the group collected together: haku tarpusun. 'Come on, let's plant.' or with the same -n aspect which in turn is followed by -ki, 2nd person reference. Here the addressee is pointed to as the object of the action, but the actor is 3rd person, i.e. the relationship is 'he - you.' Present, past, or future time may be implied:

paymi watu-kusunki. 'He asked about you.' *ñañaykiña apamusunki ličitaqa paqarin.* 'Your sister will bring you milk tomorrow.'

5.215 *-ču, injunctive.* The concept of 'indirect command', asking the addressee to pass on a command to another person, best fits occurrences of this suffix. It is always followed by *-n*, absolute aspect: *sul̄k'aykita niy. mahči-kučun.* 'Speak to your younger brother. Have him wash himself.' *ripučunku čay runakuna.* 'Tell those men to go home.' *kurahniykita niy. unuta apamuwačun tumanaypah.* 'Speak to your older brother. Have him bring me some water for me to drink.' Indicative modals are mutually exlcusive with *-ču*, but, as shown in examples above, other modals frequently co-occur with the injunctive.

5.22 *Aspect*. Each of the five aspect subcategories is quite distinctive in distribution from a syntactic point of view. However, within the inflectional apparatus of the morphological word, aspect is rigidly positioned and all aspect morphemes are mutually exclusive. The five categories are: *absolute*, *dynamic*, *static*, *simultetive*, and *imperative*. Many aspect-marked morphological words are not minimal free forms, so that examples given in the following discussion are necessarily complex. They are also kept to a minimum, since the use of aspect will be more fully exemplified in discussing other co-occurring morpheme categories such as person reference and auxiliary roots.

5.221 *-n, absolute*. In meaning, this is the most neutral aspect, and is glossed by references to general present time unless this is modified by the context. Of the aspect morphemes only -n may be followed within the same morphological word, by person reference morphemes. Thus, with -iy, 1st person: puriniy 'I walk', or with the 2nd person alternant -ki: purinki 'you walk'. -n may also be terminal in the word: purin 'he walks' purisun 'let's walk' puričun 'let him walk'. Or, within a verb phrase which is a minimal free form, a terminal -n may be followed by qa-, an auxiliary root implying existence in non-present time: purin-qa 'he will walk'.

5.222 -r, dynamic. Suffice it to say that minimal free forms which include -r are never single morphological words and always imply action itself rather than simply the type of action specified by the verb stem or the supposition of action. In the Cuzco dialect the auxiliary root Qa- (which is the same morpheme as qa-, existence in non-present time, but in a different morphophonemic class) always follows -r: purir-Qanki 'you walked!.

5.223 -s, static. Again, minimal free forms which include -s are never single morphological words. Such forms always imply reference to an action as some kind of completed entity. In the fashion of -r, -s is always followed by the auxiliary root qa- (or in a few cases Qa-): puris-qaniy 'I seemed to walk' puris-qay 'my walking' tapuyu-kus-Qayki. 'I would like to ask you a question.'

5.224 *-h simultative*. The reference is to action which is simultaneous with another action, or to customary action. The morpheme may occur within a single morphological word which is a minimal free form, under the following circumstances: as the terminal morpheme: *purih.* 'He used to travel.', or followed by *-ku*, neutral plural: *purihku.* 'They used to travel.', or as the terminal morpheme in a verb stem immediately followed by the substantivizer *-ti*: *purihtiyki* 'when you walk'. Otherwise *-h* may be added to the injunctive auxiliary *wa-*: *qusquta ri-wahču*? 'Can you go to Cuzco?' or to the auxiliary *ka*: *papataqa alamu-was-kahčá* 'You should be harvesting the potatoes; in neither case are the words in which it appears minimal free forms. Finally, *-h* may be followed by enclitics in minimal or non-minimal forms: *imakunal̄atatah ruwahri?* 'Just what did he used to do?'

5.225 *-y, imperative*. The imperative *-y* marks direct commands. Though it may be pluralized (see 5.232), person reference morphemes do not follow: *hamuy.* 'Come!' *hamuyčis* 'Come, all of you.'

5.23 *Person reference*. The verb person-reference pattern is almost identical with its counterpart in the substantive inflectional system, the single difference being that the unimplicated person is not overtly marked. Here also a category of plurality is included. The chart below shows occurring morphemes.

Person Reference

Person		Plural	
-iy ~ -y ~ -i	'1st'	-ku	'neutral'
-yki ~ -ki	'2nd'	-čis	'deferential'

5.231 Person.

5.2311 *-iy, 1st person*. The alternant *-y* occurs before the neutral plural *-ku* (in which case *-n* aspect, which always precedes the *-iy* alternant, does not occur), and before the conditional *-man* (see 5.25): *kaypin tiyayku.* 'We live here.' *qusquta riymanču mana l̃ank'ahtinčis?* 'Can I go to Cuzco if we don't work?' Otherwise, *-iy* occurs, always preceded by *-n* aspect: *papamanmi ris-kaniy.* 'I'm going for potatoes.' The 1st person morpheme always refers to the speaker as actor. In one environment, before the *-n* allomorph of the validator *-mi* (see 4.621), the *-i* alternant occurs: *kastil̃anutaqa yačanin.* 'I speak Spanish.'

5.2312 *-ki, 2nd person*. In the form *-ki*, the 2nd person morpheme is always preceded by *-n* aspect. Under these circumstances the reference is to the addressee as actor, unless the group indicative modal *-su* co-occurs, in which case the reference is to the addressee as object of the action: *maypin tiyanki?* 'Where do you live?' *alquqa manan kanisunkiču.* 'The dog won't bite you.' In still a third environment: absence of preceding *-n* aspect, the *-yki* alternant of the morpheme occurs, and reference is to 2nd person as object or referent, with the added implication that the speaker is the actor and, ordinarily, that the time is general present: *ančatan muna-kuyki.* 'I love you a lot.' *qayniwančaytáh qinaykitaqa apampuykí.* 'I brought you your flute yesterday.' Similarly, where the action will take place in the immediate or distant future, *-sa*, speaker indicative, co-occurs with *-yki*: *wasiyta pusasayki.* 'I'll take you to my house.' *paqarin qinaykita apampusayki.* 'Tomorrow I'll bring you your flute.'

5.232 *Plural*.

5.2321 *-ku, neutral*. Plural person meanings are conveyed by *-ku* in the following circumstances:

after the *-y* alternant of the 1st person morpheme: *kaypin l̄ahtapura rima-kus-kayku.* 'Those of us talking here are all from the same town.'

after the second person morpheme:

either the *-yki* alternant to imply that the speaker is exclusive plural in meaning: *p'ačata rantipusaykiku.* 'We (excl.) will buy some clothes for you.'

or the *-ki* alternant in co-occurrence with a preceding *-su*, group indicative, to imply that the third person actor is plural: *paykunaña wil̄asunkiku.* 'They will advise you soon.'

after *-n*, absolute aspect: *tawa runan l̄ank'as-kanku.* 'Four men are working.' *al̄intayá kawsa-kučunku.* 'I hope they'll have a nice life.'

after *-h*, simultative aspect: *hatukuykuqa asindapin tiyahku.* 'Our grandparents used to live at the hacienda.'

after the *-sah* alternant of the indicative mode morpheme: *nuqaykuqa papatan al̄amusahku.* 'We will harvest potatoes.'

The forms *paqarinmi čayamun-qaku čay wiraqučakunaqa.* 'Those men will arrive tomorrow.' and *ahawasipin mačamus-qaku čay runakunaqa.* 'Those men had gotten drunk at the chichería.' show *-ku* plural added to an auxiliary root directly, without intervening morphemes.

5.2322 *-čis, deferential.* The deferential plural person meaning conveyed by *-čis* occurs only when the addressee is implicated, either as the actor, one of the actors, or the object or referent. *-čis* is found in the following environments:

after the second person morpheme: *qankuna rimankičis.* 'You-all are talking.' *nuqayku uyariykičis.* 'We (excl.) are listening to you-all.'

after *-n*, absolute aspect: *al̄inta puñunčis.* 'We (incl.) slept well.' *paykunan l̄ank'a-ysimuwasunčis* (with the same meaning as *l̄ank'a-ysimuwasun*) 'They will help us (incl.) work.'

after *-y*, imperative aspect: *hatariyčis.* 'Get up all of you.'

5.24 Time. Virtually all earlier Quechua grammars have identified categories of present, past, and future time in the verb inflectional pattern. In the present study we avoid this interpretation, for various reasons:

First, strict adherence to the principle of identifying all recurring partials with the same phonemic shape and same distribution as cases of the same morpheme argues for segmentation of such sequences as -nqa, -sqa, and -rqa, often considered tense morphemes, into more than one morpheme.

Second, adopting the view that no morpheme can change its relative position, or repeat itself (except of course in the case of reduplication), within a single inflectional string, we are led to identify some partials as auxiliary roots rather than affixes. Some of these auxiliary roots carry temporal meanings, so that time, certainly a dimension of the Quechua semantic space, has entered a closed, highly formalized distributional class. But the contrast is not part of the verb inflectional system.

Third, semantic analysis of glosses of Quechua utterances, and of behavior in the context of those utterances, leads to the identification of categories of mode, aspect, and person reference which together account for all formal aspects of forms which imply time, and a tense category is therefore unnecessary. By semantic analysis we mean simply the formulation of alternative hypotheses regarding the semantic evidence, and the choice by trial and error among them of that system of non-formal semantic abstractions which best predicts Quechua linguistic behavior. The general assumption underlying this procedure is that the evidence of formal classes is more reliable than semantic inferences, and that formal evidence should be violated only in the face of overwhelming conviction that a particular semantic analysis provides the simplest and most elegant means of predicting non-linguistic concomitants of linguistic behavior.

Having taken such an unequivocal stand in principle, we must now withdraw from it slightly in practice, for two reasons:

First, the formal identification of a hitherto ignored class of auxiliary roots, and the choice of marking such roots in transcription with a preceding hyphen, in effect proposes a modification in the writing of Quechua which may offend some users of the language. We have therefore made an arbitrary accomodation, using the orthographic hyphen to mark certain auxiliaries but not others. Thus in practice we do not use the hyphen before the auxiliary root *qa-* 'being in the non-present time'. The sequences which bring together one of the aspect morphemes *-n*, *-s*, or *-r* in word-final position and a following auxiliary root *qa-* are written as *-nqa*, *-sqa*, and *-rqa* (or the last alternatively as *-ra*, which in Chinchero Quechua is a far more frequent pronunciation). Note, however, that in the preceding sections of this chapter dealing with inflection, and in relevant sections of Chapter 6, we have maintained the hyphen in examples, so that the above statement refers to examples in other parts of this description only. All other auxiliary roots, including certain others with temporal meanings, are preceded by hyphens in all transcriptions.

Second, the sirens song in Quechua in these matters is the phenominon of gradual loss of the phoneme /q/ in certain morphological environments. Thus our morphophonemic spelling *-rQa* represents the speaker's option to drop /q/, which, as indicated above, happens more often than not. The same effect is evident in the sequence *-sqa*, but here the degree of change is greatly influenced by semantic and functional characteristics of the different environments in which the sequence occurs. Thus the /q/ is never dropped in such derived forms as *qusqayki* 'your giving', it is dropped optionally in such forms as *qusQayki* 'I will give you', and we infer that it was probably dropped entirely some time ago in the hypothetical form **qusQah* 'I will give', which now occurs consistently as *qusah*. Now it happens that on the evidence of forms like *qusah*, and the more ambiguous *qusQayki*, we have set up the grammatical category of speaker indicative mode, the allomorphs being *-sa* ~ *-sah*, but strict adherence to the formulation we have made above would require us at the least to treat *qusah* as evidence for speaker indicative mode and *qusQayki* as evidence for *-s* aspect plus the auxiliary root *qa-*. This in turn would violate the strong sense of semantic identify between the two forms, which we have prefered not to do. Quechua itself appears to be in midstream and we have decided to recognize this. Thus we recognize the paradigmatic relevance of *qusQayki* to *qusah* in support of the speaker indicative mode category, at the same time as we recognize the morphemic identities of *-s* aspect and *qa-* auxiliary root in *qusQayki*, at least when the /q/ is actually pronounced, but not in *qusah*. Perhaps it is in the nature of linguistic analysis that we must somehow straddle the stream in cases like these where the language is shifting from one grammatical system to another.

5.25 Conditioning. The conditional morpheme *-man* marks an action as being conditional upon another circumstance. *-man* occurs after all person-reference morphemes including plurals, and of course with the full panoply of verb inflection heretofore described, though some subsidiary restrictions are noted below. A translation of 'would, could, can' is normally appropriate. However *-man* occurs only rarely in verbs where the addressee is the actor. In these cases it is more acceptable stylistically to substitute a verbal expression not marked for person but including the auxiliary root *wa-*, which has injunctive meaning (see Chapter 6): *misa kahtinqa misa uyarih riymanmi.* 'If a mass is held I will go to hear it.' *ask"a qulqiy kanman čayqa, quyuykimanmi wakinta.* 'If I had plenty of money I would give you some of it.' *č'isiyahpiqa yaqa tukuramuykumanmi čaxra ruwayta.* 'In a whole day we should finish the work in the field.' *p'ačal̄aykitapis t'ahsa-kus-kankimansi riki karan rup"ayamus-kahtinqa.* 'You should certainly have been washing your clothes, since the sun was shining.' *qasis-kankičistah čayqa, yanapamuwas-kankičismampasčá.* 'Now that you-all are not busy, perhaps you could help me.' *čahay wasipiqa qurpačasunkikumanmi* 'I think that in that house they would give you lodging.' *unul̄atapis aparamus-kanmansi riki karan čay irqiqa, hina kas-kanantaqa.* 'Instead of doing nothing, that boy ought to have been bringing water.' *čahay runakunata tapura-kamuy. paykunaqa tupankumanču iča karan taytaykiwan.* 'Go and ask those men. Perhaps they saw your father.'

The sequence *-sunman*, that is *-su*, group indicative, with *-n* aspect preceding *-man* appears to have a common variant *-swan*, with the same meaning: *mačupixčuta risunman.* alternates with *mačupixčuta riswan.* 'We should go to Machu Pichu.' The pluralization *-čis* can occur with both forms, but note the difference in distribution: *-sunčisman*: *mačupixčuta risunčisman.*; *-swančis*: *mačupixčuta riswančis.*

Be it noted that *-man* never follows the sequence *-nčis* unless the latter is preceded by *-su*, that is, in the sequence just discussed. Similarly, but in opposite fashion, *-man* never follows *-sayki* (or the alternant *-sQayki*), but it may follow *-yki*, *-ykiku*, or *-ykičis* in verb constructions. Also, *-man* never follows the sequences *-sqa* or *-nqa* (see 5.22), or *-čun* (see 5.21).

CHAPTER SIX: STEM FORMATION

Quechua inflectional affixes are added to stems of various types: simple word stems, phrasal stems, and modified stems. In some dialects stems of clause form also add inflection, but this does not seem to be a favored construction in the Cuzco dialect.

6.1 Simple word stems. A simple word stem consists of a single morpheme, in some cases what in earlier times was more than one morpheme but now coalesced to a degree that makes analysis unprofitable. By their inflectional privileges simple stems are classifiable as substantives, verbs, ambivalents (occurring with both substantive and verb inflection), or particles (uninflected, though they do occur with enclitics). Some ambivalent stems are clearly ambivalent, regularly adding either substantive or verb affixes; for others there is generally evidence for membership in only one class, except for rare occurrences under very special semantic conditions. Potentially, all simple Quechua stems may be ambivalent, awaiting only the unusual context which might call them into use in a normally unused category.

6.2 Phrasal stems. Phrasal stems are of four types: reduplicative, cumulative, pendant, and complex. With all four, inflexional suffixes mark the whole phrasal stem, in the same fashion that a word stem is marked by inflection, so that the distinction between phrasal stem types is based on internal characteristics. In the sections which follow, though not elsewhere in these materials, parentheses surround inflectional material added to the phrasal stem, thus setting off the preceding phrasal stem in the transcription.

6.21 Reduplicative stems. A simple substantive or verb stem may be reduplicatedto form a reduplicative phrasal stem which then may add inflectional suffixes. The meaning of such reduplication is usually plurality or reference to a collection of similar objects; in the case of reduplicative verb stems the reference is to repetition or maintenance of action. In some cases an inflected simple stem may be reduplicated, such that only those affixes unique to the second occurrence of the word are oonsidered to be added to the phrasal stem. The formula for the syntactic structure of reduplicative stems is:

Head Head

Examples are: ič"u ič"u(pi) 'among the tall grasses' Ĩahtan Ĩahtan(ta) 'from town to town' or 'to all the towns' maĨki maĨki čawpi(pi) 'in the middle of a woods' qaqay qaqay(ta) 'very strongly' ri ri(Ĩanin) 'I keep going' purin purin(ña) 'now, walking along'.

6.22 Cumulative stems. The formula for cumulative phrasal stems is:

Determiner Numeral Modifier Head

The order of occurrence of functors is always as shown, though determiners and numerals appear only optionally. The words which manifest the determiner are few: kay 'this', čay 'that' čahay 'yonder' virtually exhaust the category. The Quechua numbers and quantifiers of course manifest the numeral functor. *Modifiers* and *heads* are manifested by simple or modified substantives or particles. More than one modifier may appear, and it is appropriate ordinarily to recognize a hierarchical layering in such cases. That is, one of the two following subformulae will apply:

$$\overline{\overline{\text{Modifier}\qquad\text{Modifier}}\qquad\text{Head}}$$

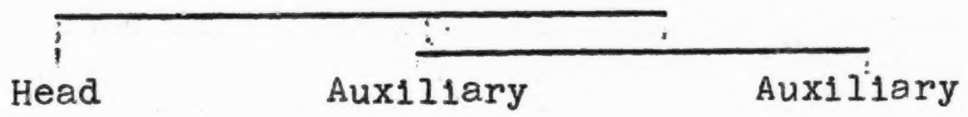
$$\overline{\text{Modifier}\qquad\overline{\text{Modifier}\qquad\text{Head}}}$$

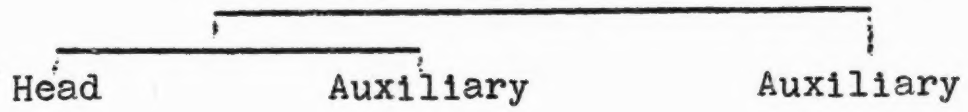
An example of the first: *l̄awl̄i puka q'aytu* 'pinkish red thread', of the second: *hatun tixa wasi* 'big tile-roofed house'. Other examples of cumulative stems: *čay urqu waka(kunata) kačariy.* 'Release those bulls.' *iskay yana uwixa.* 'Two black sheep.' *ask"a wanl̄a papa(kuna).* 'Many large potatoes.'

6.23 *Pendant stems.* Pendant phrasal stems all behave like simple verb stems, adding verb inflectional suffixes, or derivational stem-formatives which may change inflectional privileges. The formula for this type is:

$$\overline{\text{Head}\qquad\text{Auxiliary}}$$

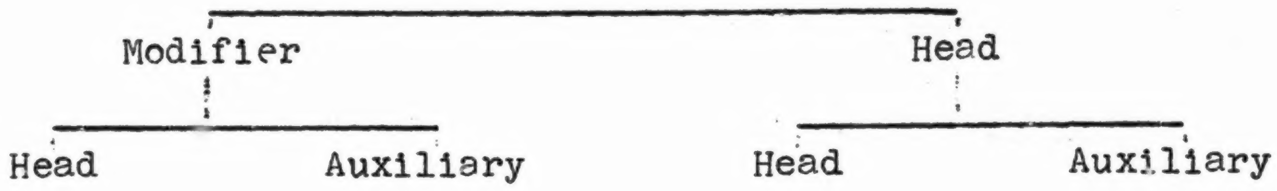
Several auxiliaries may appear in the stem. It is not often possible to find contrastive evidence that will demonstrate the need for hierarchical layering, but where available we clearly must make use of subformulae as follows:





Inflectional markings are added to the last auxiliary. Further discussion of pendant stems is postponed to chapter 7, which consists of a full description, with examples, of auxiliary roots.

6.24 Complex stems. Complex phrasal stems are basically cumulative in type, but one of the modifiers or the head will contain a pendant stem. Thus the construction involves hierarchical layering, each of the pendant constructions shown in the formula below occurring optionally, though one must appear or the stem will simply be cumulative:



Examples of complex stems will also be found in chapter 7, as the participation of auxiliary roots in these constructions is explained.

6.3 Modified stems. Simple word stems or phrasal stems may be modified by the addition of derivational or non-derivational stem formative suffixes before inflectional suffixes are added.

6.31 Derivational stem-formatives. A stem-formative suffix which, added to an underlying stem of one inflectional category, say substantive, yields a new stem with the privileges of combination of another, say verb, is a *derivational stem-formative*. Thus, *derived substantive* and *derived verb stems* are produced by such processes. A single morphological word may contain a stem in which derivation has occurred more than once.

6.311 *Derived substantive stems*.

6.3111 *-y process*. Adding the *process* nominalizer to a verb stem forms words which refer to the action as a process: *mixuy* 'eating' *l̄ank'ayqa manan sasaču.* 'Working isn't difficult.' *unquyniyqa ñan q"aliyarunña.* 'My sickness is over already.'

6.3112 *-na, material*. Adding the *material* nominalizer *-na* to a verb stem forms words which refer to matter (sometimes figurative) affected by the action: *mixuna* 'food' *l̄ank'ana kas-kanču?* 'Is there any work? *runasimin yačanay kas-kan.* 'I have to learn (i.e. the learning of) Quechua.' *puñunayki kanču?* 'Do you have a bed?'

6.3113 *-h, agentive*. Adding the *agentive* nominalizer to a verb stem forms words which refer to the doer of the action: *l̄ank'ah* 'worker' *l̄ank'ahkunatan mixu-čis-kaniy.* 'I am feeding the workers.' *mixuhmi hamus-kaniy.* 'I'm coming to eat.' *paqarin wil̄ahniyki kutimusah.* 'I'll be back tomorrow to tell you that.'

6.3114 *-ti, inclusive*. The *inclusive* nominalizer is added to verb stems to imply that the reference is to an action that is the background of another action. It is commonly added to verb stems already inflected for *-h*, simultative aspect: *mixunata qusuhtiykiqa,* *ama časki-kunkiču.* 'When he gives you food, don't take it.' *parahtinmi mana Ĩank'aniyču.* 'I haven't worked because it was raining.' *-ti* is also found after other aspect morphemes, specifically *-n*, absolute, and *-s*, static, but these may well be frozen, anomalous forms better left unanalyzed, though the inclusive meaning is always present: *watantin* 'the whole year' *pampastin* 'over the whole surface (of the ground or floor).' Note that the underlying stems in these cases would otherwise seem to be substantive. These are the only forms in which they have verb-like behavior that might lead us to classify them as ambivalents.

6.3115 *-spa, sequential*. The *sequential* nominalizer is added to verb stems to imply that the action is in sequence with another action. Ordinarilly the *-spa* marked action occurs first: *munaspa mixuy, mana munaspaqa ama.* 'If you want, eat it, but if not, don't.' *mixuyta tukuspaykiña puxĨahqa rinki.* 'You'll go to play (a game) after you finish eating.' *čay irqiqa waqaspan ris-kan.* 'That boy is walking along in tears.' The directional modals *-mu*, *-pu*, and *-wa* precede the sequence, but occurrences with the modal *-su* are anomalous, since it follows *-spa*, and the *-su* itself is followed by *-nki*, a verb person ending: *mamayqa maqayuwaspan saqiyuwan.* 'My mother left me after she beat me.' *"Ĩank'amunqa" nispasunkin taytačaqa siqayun.* 'Dad left, after saying that you would work.'

6.3116 *-sqa, attributive*. The attributive nominalizer is added to verb stems to imply a characteristic or attribute: *unqusqa* 'sick' *kayču Ĩank'asqayki papa?* 'Are these the potatoes you produced?'

6.312 *Derived verb stems*.

6.3121 *-ča, factive*. Added to substantive stems, the *factive*, *-ča*, forms a verb stem meaning to make, build, construct, or bring about the referent of the underlying stem: *paqarinmi wasiča-kusah. al̄iču wasiča-ysiwankiyá.* 'I'm going to build the house tomorrow. Please help me build it then.' *p'ačaytan q"il̄ičaru-kuniy.* 'I make my clothes dirty.' *unuqa q'atačara-kapusqan.* 'The water had gotten turbid.' *sapatuyta al̄ičarapuway.* 'Fix my shoes for me.' *hayk'amantah saratari qulqičamuranki?* 'For how much money have you sold the corn?' *sapa p'unčaymi wakača-rayayku pampata takaspa.* 'We spend every day bent over cultivating the earth.'

6.3122 *-ya, developmental*. Added to substantive stems, the *developmental*, *-ya*, forms a verb stem meaning to become the stem referent or take on its characteristic. In rare occurrences with what seem otherwise to be verb stems this suffix takes the form *-nya*: *aswan runayampus-kanmi čixčih hap'isqan papayqa.* 'Happily, my potato field, damaged by the hail, is recovering.' *taytayqa l̄ank'aspan mačuyarapun.* 'My father got old working.' *ususiyqa ñan sipasyarus-kanña.* 'My daughter is already a young lady.' *čay runaqa ñawsayapunmi.* 'That man has gone blind.' *haku l̄ahtančista musuhya-čisunčis.* 'Let's beautify our town.' *qusqu l̄ahtaqa asmanta asmantan hatunyayapus-kan.* 'The city of Cuzco is getting big, little by little.' *ñan p'unčayaramus-kanña.* 'It's already dawning.' *askaman tutayarampus-kan.* 'It's becoming dark so soon.' *čay warmiqa unqunyapunmi.* 'That woman has become sickly.' *mayl̄atatah kutinyankiri?* 'Where do you go all the time?'

6.3123 *-na, locative*. Added to substantive stems, the *locative*, *-na*, forms a verb stem meaning to place in or remove from the location described by the underlying stem. *-na* is sometimes added to verb stems which themselves imply placement, in which case the addition of *-na* produces virtually no meaning change: *puka pul̄iraykiwan pačana-kuy, asulwantah hawana-kuy.* 'Put your red skirt on underneath, with the blue one on top.' *aqu sixsiwan sunqunasun wasi simintutaqa.* 'We'll fill the foundation of the house with sand and gravel.' *čay kusaskunata k'učuna-riy.* 'Put those things in the corner.' *č'uyanamuy čay p'ukukunata.* 'Go and rinse off those plates.' *q'ulqantarah q'ulqanarusun kay papataqa.* 'Let's take the buds (new eye-growth) from these potatoes.' *singanay čay sarata.* 'Take the spines off those grains of corn.'

6.3124 *-l̄i, salience*. Added to substantive stems and, rarely, verb stems, the *salience* verbalizer yields verbs meaning that the referent stands up sharply, swells up abruptly, stiffens, or protrudes above a surrounding area. This element occurs only in pendant phrases and is always followed immediately by one of the auxiliaries *či-*, *ku-*, or *ka-*: *makiymi č"apal̄iru-kun rumi astasqay.* 'My hands have gotten all rough from carrying stones.' *čuxčaykiqa č'iwkal̄i-kamus-kanmi, al̄inta ñahč'a-kuy.* 'Your hair is standing on end. Comb yourself well.' *mat'iykita q'intil̄i-čiy, awir?* 'Wrinkle your brow, will you? *čakiymi punkil̄i-kus-kan alquh kaniwasqan.* 'My foot is swelling up because the dog bit me.' *qanmi riki hayt'aspa k'uytul̄i-čis-kanki irqitaqa.* 'You've knocked the boy over by kicking him, haven't you?' *nuqan umal̄i-kusah kay l̄ank'anawanqa.* 'I'll take care of this work.'

6.3125 *-mpa, relative*. Added to substantive stems, the *relative*, *-mpa*, means to put into or go into the position indicated by the underlying stem. The element follows some verb stems which themselves imply movement into a certain position, in which case little change of meaning results: *umampa-čiy čay sarata.* 'Stand those corn stalks on their heads.' *ama umačakimpa-čiyču čay p'uyñuta.* 'Don't put that jug upside-down.' *sumburuyki t'ixsumpa-rayas-kan.* 'Your hat is twisted to one side.' *čay p'ukuta p'axčampaykuy.* 'Turn that plate over.' *alquqa pampapin t"al̄ampa-rayas-kan.* 'The dog is lying on the ground on his belly.' *čahay mal̄kiqa k'irampayamus-kansuná.* 'I think that tree is leaning over.' *čay arWikunata sayampara-čimus-kasah.* 'I'm going to stand up those adobes.'

6.3126 *-nka, distributional*. Added to a very restricted group of substantives, the *distributional*, *-nka*, implies some kind of distribution among interested parties as a result of the action: *wačunkasunmi čay papataqa.* 'We have to share up these rows of potatoes (as we harvest them).' *iskayman č'ihtanka-kučun čay čaxra.* 'Let that field be divided in two parts.'

6.3127 *Onomatopoetic verb stem formation*. A large number of verb stems are based on onomatopoetic roots which represent sounds in nature or other movements. The verb stem is formed by double reduplication of either the first or second syllable of the root or part of it. Aspiration of glottalization may or may not be maintained in the reduplication. Some of the sound involved are foreign to the indigenous Quechua phonemic stock.

Thus:

tara	'hen-cackle'	taratatay	'to cackle'
lara	'a lalling sound used in singing without words'	laralalay	'to lall'
ruq"ún	'sound of thunder'	ruq"uququy	'to thunder'
wit'íx	'a flailing of limbs or the body'	wit'ititiy	'to flail'
wat"áx	'wing-beat of an injured or imprisoned bird'	wat"at"at"ay	'to beat the wings'
čipíx	'star-twinkle'	čipipipiy	'to twinkle'
kunn	'reverberation'	kunununuy	'to reverberate'
p"arrr	'swift wing-beat'	p"ararararay	'to beat the wings swiftly'
binn	'pulse beat'	bininininiy	'to pulse'
anl̄ís	'dog's whine'	anl̄il̄il̄iy	'to whine'
axáw	'a laugh'	axaxaxay	'to laugh'
ur	'pig grunt'	urururuy	'to grunt'

6.32 Non-derivational stem formatives. Two Quechua enclitics and numerous suffixes have the effect of modifying the meaning of the underlying stem, without shifting its inflectional privileges. These are non-derivational stem-formatives.

6.321 Stem-formative enclitics.

6.3211 -ča, diminutive. The diminutive -ča is added to substantive and verb stems, and is therefore classed as an enclitic. It is greatly used in familiar circumstances, where it simply implies coziness in the relationship between speaker and hearer rather than any literal diminution: *luwisačan sutiyqa.* 'My name is Luisita.' *kay ñañčan urqumanqa ris-kan.* 'This little road goes to the mountain.' *-ča* very rarely occurs with simple verb stems; but occurs very commonly as a stem-formative added to the auxiliary root *ka-*: *puri-kača-kamusun.* 'Let's take a walk.' *wayra-kačamus-kan.* 'The wind is coming in little puffs.'

6.3212 *-l̄a, limitative*. The *limitative* *-l̄a*, also an enclitic, conveys meanings like 'just, only', but like *-ča* occurs a great deal in familiar discourse where its meaning is not so literal. *-l̄a* has considerable flexibility of position, occurring at times immediately after the underlying stem, at others farther removed, in substantives even as far as after all inflectional suffixes, the normal position of enclitics. *-l̄a* precedes other enclitics in the construction: *nuqal̄an hamus-kaniy.* 'I came alone.' *paqaril̄an liwruykita qurapusayki.* 'I'll give you back your book by tomorrow.' With underlying verb stems the position of *-l̄a* is normally just before either aspect or person reference suffixes, thus after auxiliary roots. The positional relation with modal suffixes is more flexible; for the meaning 'I'll just serve you in a moment.' both *qarasal̄aykičisña* and *qaral̄asaykičisña* are acceptable, with the latter much more frequent. Other examples with verb stems are: *apamul̄ayña.* 'Just bring it.' *wawačaqa puñu-kus-kal̄asqarahmi.* 'The little baby is apparently still sleeping.'

6.322 *Substantive modifiers*. The following nine stem-formatives are added to substantive stems to form modified stems which retain substantive inflectional privileges.

6.3221 *-yuh*. The suffix is used normally in the construction of complex numerals, being suffixed to the number that is added to a preceding number: *čunka pisqayuh* 'ten plus five' or 'fifteen'. The empty morph *-ni* (see chapter 5) regularly precedes *-yuh* after stems which end in a consonant: *čunka iskayniyuh.* 'twelve'. Otherwise *-yuh* implies 'one who has' the referent of theunderlying stem or 'one who is associated with' such a referent: *tawa pačax qulqiyuhmi kaniy.* 'I have four hundred soles.' *hayk'a wal̄payuhmi kanki?* 'How many hens do you have?' *ask"a wawayuhmi kaniy.* 'I have a lot of children.' *qanču wasiyuh kas-kanki?* 'Are you the owner of the house?' *nuqaqa kay tindayuhmi kaniy.* 'I'm the storekeeper.' With substantives referring to places (but not place names), *-yuh* implies provenience of the subject: *may l̄ahtayuhmi kanki?* 'What town are you from?' *kay l̄ahtayuhču kanki?* 'Are you from the town?'

6.3222 *-sapa*. The suffix augments the meaning: *čay simisapa warmiqa rimapa-kus-kal̄an imay ratupas.* 'That big-mouthed woman just chatters all the time.' *čay mačulaqa sinqasapatah wixsasapatahmi.* 'That old man is both big-nosed and big-bellied.' *p"usuqusapačan ahačaqa kas-kan.* 'The chicha is really frothy.' *wawasapakunaqa waxčayaymanmi haykunku.* 'Those who have a lot of children are destined for poverty.' *wanusapata papataqa tarpusunčis sumah rurunampah.* 'Let's plant the potatoes with lots of fertilizer so they produce well.' *čay waynaqa al̄in yuyaysapan.* 'That young man is very intelligent.' *mixuysapal̄añan kaniy, čaymi mana saxsa-riniyču imaytukuy mixunawampis.* 'I'm a big eater; that's why I'm not satisfied with just any amount of food.'

6.3223 *-qi*. Ordinarily added to parental terms or terms referring to authorities, the suffix appears to call attention to such honorific status: *imatah sutinku mamaqiykih taytaqiykihri?* 'What are the names of your mother and father?' *wačaqiyqa sumah lamp'u sunqun.* 'My mother is of very peaceful temperament.' *čuriyaqil̄aykun kahtin mana kahtimpas uywa-kuwaranku.* 'We were brought up by our father alone, whether or not he had the means of doing it.' *kamaqinčis yaya hanahpačapi kas-kan.* 'Our Father is in heaven.' *wawayqa al̄in marq'aqiyuhmi.* 'My child has a good godfather.'

6.3224 *-ti*. The suffix implies augmentation in a pejorative sense: *ama činatiču kay.* 'Don't be a coward.' *mat'i-kuy čumpiwan čay wixsatiykita.* 'Cover that big belly of yours with a sash.' *waqatičus kayman q"ari runa.* 'A boy shouldn't be a cry-baby.' *wil̄atičal̄aña čay irqiqa. imatapis wil̄aru-kus-kal̄an.* 'That boy is just a tattle-tale. He gives away every secret.'

6.3225 *-ku*. The suffix, ordinarily added to given names of persons, some kin terms (but not when they imply kinship), or terms referring to persons, adds an affectionate tone: *rihsinkiču čahay taytakuta?* 'Do you know that old man?' *kukačata quyuy čay mamakučaman* 'Give a little coca to that old lady.' *yaw payakuča, rikurankiču mačukučayta?* 'Hey, little girl! Have you seen my boy?' *panay anakun kurahniykuqa.* 'My sister Anita is the eldest of us.'

6.3226 *-ka*. This suffix is rather similar to *-ku*, which it seems to supplant occasionally, though without any evident condition: *mamakayqa taytakaypahmi mixunata apan l̄ank'asqanta.* 'My mother has taken food to his work-place for my father.' *ñañakačayman* wil̄ayu-kusah maqa-kuwasqaykita. 'I'm going to tell my big sister that you hit me.' antukučawan antukačawanqa čay p'unčaypi uliyuyuhkaman kanku. 'Antonieto and Antonieta were baptized on the same day.'

6.3227 -li. The suffix marks the stem as a permanent characteristic. It is frequently added to substantives formed by adding the -y, process, derivational suffix to a verb stem. In this case, free variation occurs between appearance of -y, process, and its non-appearance, when the underlying verb stem ends with the sound /a/. The stem-formative -ku (see 6.3225 above) often follows -li. mančali kaspaykičá k'umun k'umunl̄a purinki. 'Perhaps because you're timid you always go around bent over.' q"ariqa manan mančalikuču kana. 'A man doesn't have to be afraid.' alqučay munay wayl̄uyliča kapu-wan. 'I have a little dog that is really affectionate.' čay waynaqa asiyli asiylil̄an. 'It's that boy's rature to smile all the time.' wačačakunaqa p'ingalikučakunal̄aña kanku. 'Little girls are always shy.' satukačaqa wawalikun kapusqa. 'Saturnina always goes around with her little baby.'

6.3228 -(n)iru ~ -(n)ira. Obviously borrowed from Spanish, the suffix nevertheless occurs with indigenous stems as well as borrowed stems, and of course makes reference to the person who deals with the stem referent. The -niru and -nira alternants occur after vowel final stems, but infrequently. More commonly the last vowel of the stem will be dropped and either -iru or -ira added. The choice between these two is based, as in Spanish, on the sex of the person, -iru serving for males and -ira for females:

l̄ant'irukuna urquta l̄ant'aman rinku. 'The woodsmen go to the mountain for firewood.' *čikunpiqa kapuliručan karaniy.* 'In Chicón I used to be a capulí harvester.' *čahay runaqa lawatirun.* 'That man is a flute player.' *qusqumanta k"učinirukuna hamunku činčiruta k"uči rantih.* 'The pig merchants come to Chinchero from Cuzco to buy pigs.' *čahay maht'aqa warminirun.* 'That boy is a girl chaser.' *imatatah čay irqitari gustuniru kayta yača-činki?* 'But why have you taught that boy to be accustomed to having his own way?' *san siwastiyanmanta siwil̄irakuna siwil̄ata apamunku qusqu plasaman.* 'The onion women bring onions to the plaza in Cuzco from San Sebastian.' *qusqupi ask"a wiñapirakuna kanku.* 'In Cuzco there are a number of women who make germinated corn (for chicha).'

6.3229 *-nih*. The suffix is added to spatial or temporal terms, and refers to the approximate vicinity of the referent: *maynihpitah ñawin puxyuri kas-kan?* 'Whereabouts is the source (eye) of the spring? *aswan čahaynihmanqa pačawan siluwampis muč'apunayu-kus-kankuñan.* 'In the distance, the earth and the sky seem to come together.' *patannihl̄amantarah qal̄arimunki papa al̄aytaqa.* 'Just begin harvesting potatoes at the edge (of the plot).' *tayrinihpahña mixunataqa wayk'us-kasah.* 'I'll get the food ready for this afternoon sometime.' *q"ipanihmanña qupuwas-kanki susiyuwan qupuwanaykitaqa.* 'Give back at leisure what you're supposed to return to me.'

6.323 *Verb modifiers*. Four categories of stem-formatives are added to verb stems to form modified stems which retain verb inflectional privileges. A stem construction may contain more than one of these modifiers, their order being governed according to the following chart. Orders 2 and 3 may interchange freely, but 3 always precedes 2 when 4 co-occurs.

1	2	3	4
Repetitive	Reciprocal	Augmentative	Hortative
-pa	-na	-yKu ~ -yKa	-rQu ~ -rQa

6.3231 *-pa, repetitive*. This stem-formative implies that an action is done again: *čay mankata mahč"ipay.* 'Wash that pot again (it's still dirty).'; *čay papata astawan wanupamuy.* 'Add more fertilizer to those potato plants.'; *huh runan q"ipayta qatipamuwan* 'A man kept following behind me.'

6.3232 *-na, reciprocal*. This stem-formative implies that an action is reciprocal between two parties: *paywanqa rihsina-kuykun.* 'We are acquainted with each other.'; *runakunawan tinkuna-čimuwanki.* 'You will introduce me to (make me acquainted with) the people.'; *husiyčaqa irqikunawanmi maqana-kamun.* 'Joselito fought with the boys.' *-na* is always accompanied by the auxiliaries *ku-* or *či-* identified and described further in Chapter 7. Where the elements which interact form a union, the reciprocal takes the alternant form *-puna*: *muč'apunayu-kus-kankuñan.* 'They meet (i.e. kiss) each other.' *kay ñanqa čahaypin huh ñanwan tupapuna-kapus-kan.* 'This road meets another one over that way.'

6.3233 *-yKu ~ -yKa, augmentative*. This stem-formative implies emphasis of various kinds. The capital letter *K* used here in the spelling of both variants,represents the sound *k*, which the speaker may include or exclude as he wishes, without changing the meaning. In the examples which follow, we have used the capital *K*. However, in other transcription we use a strictly phonemic representation of whichever variant seems most appropriate to the environment of the particular sentence. That is, the augmentative appears as *-yku* or *-yu*, *-yka* or *-ya*. The *-yka* or *-ya* form is automatic before the governing directional modals *-mu* and *-pu*; *-yku* or *-yu* occur otherwise: *huh ratul̄a sayayKuy.* 'Please wait a minute.'; *pasayKamuy, taytáy.* 'Please come in, sir.'; *kartata qilqayKapuy.* 'Write a letter for him, will you?'

6.3234 *-rQu ~ -rQa, hortative*. The hortative stem-formative implies a sense of urgency. The capital letter *Q*, used here in the spelling of both variants, represents the sound *q*, which the speaker may include or exclude as he wishes, without changing the meaning. In the examples in this paragraph we have used the capital *Q*. However, in other transcription we use a strictly phonemic representation of whichever variant may seem most appropriate to the sentence. That is, the hortative modal appears as *-rqu* or *-ru*, *-rqa* or *-ra*. The *-rqa* or *-ra* form is automatic before the governing directional modals *-mu* and *-pu*; *-rqu* or *-ru* occur otherwise: *manan atirQuykuču.* 'We just can't do it.'; *yaqañan čayarQamunqa.* 'It will arrive shortly.'; *paqaril̄an liwruykita qurQapusayki.* 'I'll give your book back to you tomorrow.'

CHAPTER SEVEN: AUXILIARY ROOTS

The pendant phrase introduced in chapter 6 is constructed by adding to a contentive root one or more bound elements of more abstract meaning which are neither derivational, inflectional, nor enclitic in nature. These are auxiliary roots, which, in the Cuzco dialect, have verb inflectional privileges. Earlier studies have for the most part treated these elements as inflectional suffixes, or sometimes failed to recognize them as recurrent partials. The theoretical justification for the present treatment is that if these morphemes are described as roots it becomes unnecessary to admit flexibility of order, or recurrence of the same morpheme, within a single morphological word. It also appears that this "auxiliary root hypothesis" provides a means for accounting for certain differences between Quechua dialects as merely stylistic rather than structural. This hypothesis was first advanced in 1958 in the principal author's grammar of the Huanuco dialect, where two such roots were identified. In carrying out the present study of Cuzco Quechua analytic reasons have been found for much greater expansion of the category. But it should be obvious that the applicability of this notion is a question to be raised for each dialect separately.

In the transcription of text and examples, auxiliary roots are always preceded by a hyphen, except as noted further on. This notation has a double purpose: first, it marks the following element as an auxiliary, and second, it indicates that the group of words joined in this way have the accentual characteristics of a single phonological word (see chapter 2). Thus, the pendant phrase *l̃ank'a-ri-ysi-či-kamunki!* 'Ask him to help you to work!' is accented on the first and penultimate syllable of the phrase. The auxiliaries in this phrase, as the transcription shows, are *ri-*, *ysi-*, *či-*, and *ka-*.

Some auxiliaries combine with almost any contentive verb stem and are called *unrestricted*. The *restricted* auxiliaries do not combine so freely. For convenience the latter group has been divided into *one-syllable* and *two-syllable* subgroups.

7.1 *Unrestricted auxiliaries*. In the Cuzco dialect there are only three unrestricted auxiliaries, related to each other semantically as shown below:

	Present	*Non-present*
Dynamic	ku-	
Static	ka-	qa-

In certain other dialects the empty cell in the chart, *dynamic non-present*, is filled by an auxiliary *qu-*.

All three unrestricted auxiliaries may appear in a single pendant phrase, their order being *ku-*...*ka-*...*qa-*. Each of them may be inflected. Thus: *p"iña-kus-kar-qanki.* 'You were getting angry.' Only *ka-* may be repeated within a single phrase, sometimes as often as three times: *puri-kača-kamus-kar-qanmi.* 'He was walking around aimlessly.'.

7.11 ku-, dynamic present. This is the dynamic auxiliary, in the sense that when it occurs in a pendant phrase it contributes a certain degree of dynamism to the expression. It has present meaning also, but this operates only when not negated by the occurrence of a following non-present auxiliary in the same phrase. The types of dynamism expressed by ku- include the notions of warmth of expression, personal involvement, reflexivity, reciprocity, repetition, and verbal derivation, among others.

Examples of reflexivity are: kayqa kapuli, haywa-kuy. 'Here are some cherries. Help yourself.' uyayta mahč"iru-kusah. 'I'll wash my face.'

Examples of warmth of expression are: kapuliyta ranti-kuway. 'Please buy my cherries from me.' kay patačapi tiyayu-kuy. 'Please sit down on this chair.' In these cases ku- may be dropped without drastic change of meaning.

Examples of personal interest are: čahay sipasta qati-kuy. 'Accompany that girl.' al̄iču tapuyu-kusayki. 'I'd like to ask you a question.' In these cases, dropping the ku- would change the meaning considerably. For example: čahay sipasta qatiy. 'Chase that girl away.'

In the case of reciprocity, ku- is always preceded by the reciprocal stem-formative -na. Examples are: hakuyá rihsina-kusunčis. 'Let's get acquainted with each other.' ama maqana-kuyčisču. 'Don't fight among yourselves.'

In the case of repetition *ku-* is always preceded by the repetitive stem-formative *-pa*. Examples are: *amiguypa wasimpin tiyapa-kuniy.* 'I'm living in my friend's house for a while.' *ñak'ahkuna purihta hap'ipa-kunku.* 'The *ñak'ah* often attack travellers.'

In the case of verbal derivation, *ku-* follows immediately a stem which occurs otherwise in Quechua only as a substantive. Ordinarily these stems refer to qualities of behavior or emotion: *ančatan kusi-kuniy.* 'I'm very happy.' *ama p"iña-kuyču.* 'Don't be angry.' *ama qil̃a-kuyču.* 'Don't be lazy.'

7.12 *ka-, static present.* This is the static auxiliary, in the sense that no dynamism is implied unless signalled by *ku-* occurring elsewhere in the pendant phrase (but see below). Also, *ka-* implies present time unless non-present is overtly marked in the same phrase. In all of its occurrences *ka-* has the characteristic of serving as a kind of neutral frame upon which other, somewhat more meaningful, elements are hung. It is worth noting also that of the auxiliary roots *ka-* is the only one which also occurs as a contentive, to the extent that it can occur without inflection in the utterance *ka!* 'Here it is!' The auxiliary *ka-* occurs under three very different conditions:

Before the modals -mu and -pu. The meanings mentioned in the preceding discussion of *ku-* (warmth of expression, etc.) occur at times in pendant phrases which contain the modals *-mu*, translocative, or *-pu*, benefactive, or both. When this is the case, static *ka-* precedes these modals in the position where dynamic *ku-* would normally be found. Thus a static signal replaces a dynamic one, provided other elements in the construction convey the necessary dynamism, as is the case with *-mu* and *-pu*. Examples are: (warmth of expression) *wasi uxuman pasaya-kamuy.* 'Please come into the house.' *p"away wasiykita ri-kapunki.* 'Hurry right on to your house.'; (reflexivity) *haku mahč"ira-kamusun čahay mayupi.* 'Let's go wash ourselves in that brook.'; (personal interest) *kunanqa qinayta apa-kapusah.* 'Now I'll take along my flute.'

After static aspect -s. The contentive head of a pendant phrase, or a following auxiliary, may be marked by *-s*, static aspect, followed by the auxiliary *ka-*. The meaning conveyed by this co-occurrence is essentially perfective, that is the actor has arrived at the point of executing the action. This meaning may hold in relation to present, past, or immediate future time. The sequence *-s-ka-* (pronounced /ša/, see chapter 3) thus produced does not ordinarily occur in negative expressions; its use there would evidently be a semantic contradiction. Examples are: (present) *iskuylatan ripus-kaniy.* 'I'm going back to school now.' *kaypin tiya-kus-kayku.* 'We're sitting here now.'; (past) *qayna wataqa qusqupin kas-karaniy.* 'Last year I was in Cuzco.' *nahaqa umaymi nanawas-karan.* 'My head was aching a while ago.'; (immediate future) *nuqaña l̃ank'anataqa tukupapus-kasah.* 'I'll soon be finishing the job.' *paqarinqa kapulita pal̃amus-kanqaku.* 'They'll be picking cherries tomorrow.'

With enclitic -ča. A verbal expression which includes the diminutive enclitic *-ča* (see chapter 6) will always take the form of a pendant phrase. The meaning will be such as 'now and then; here and there': *hinatan para-kačamun.* 'It's raining a bit now and then.' *puri-kača-kamus-karanmi.* 'He was walking around aimlessly.'

7.13 *qa-, static non-present*. The designation of *static* meaning for this auxiliary is not of much significance in the Cuzco dialect, since no contrastive dynamic non-present occurs. But *qa-* always implies *non-present* meaning. As explained on page 5-28, this auxiliary is treated in a special way in normal transcription: no hyphen is written before it, and the /q/ phoneme is often absent from examples, reflecting the fact that it is disappearing in certain environments in the Cuzco dialect. However, in the present section we will write the hyphen and always include the phoneme /q/ for the sake of consistency and clarity.

When *qa-* occurs, the preceding stem, contentive or auxiliary, always terminates in *-n*, absolute, *-r*, dynamic, or *-s*, static aspect. No other auxiliary can follow *qa-*; it is always the last auxiliary in the pendant phrase. Thus, if it is necessary to signal dynamism by the use of the *ku-* auxiliary, or perfectiveness by the use of the *-s-ka-* sequence, this will always be done earlier in the pendant phrase. With the exceptions noted below, *qa-* has regular verb inflectional privileges.

qa- after -n, absolute aspect. In the Cuzco dialect this arrangement is restricted to the case where a third person will act in the future. Unlike third person action expressed by other forms, *-n* aspect does not follow *qa-* in this case. Thus: *pay rin-qa.* 'He will go.' *paykuna rixurimun-qaku.* 'They will show up.'

qa- after -r, dynamic aspect. In virtually all occurrences the reference is to an action in the past. Any actor may be involved and the usual person markings, including plurals, (and *-n* aspect in the case of third person) may occur (see 5.231). As noted elsewhere, in this environment the phoneme /q/ is often dropped from this morpheme. Thus: *qayniwančayqa qusqutan rir-qaniy.* 'I went to Cuzco yesterday.' *mask"amus-kar-qaykin.* 'I'm looking for you.' *pitah wil̄ar-qasunkiri?* 'Who told you that? *runasimita yačar-qankičisču?* 'Did you learn Quechua?' *unquspan mana puxl̄ar-qaykuču.* 'We didn't play because we were sick.'

qa- after -s, static aspect. The reference is to past action that was not under the conscious control of the actor, or in the conscious awareness of the speaker, at the time it occurred. This arrangement occurs in cases where the speaker becomes aware after the fact that something has happened; it is used ordinarily in referring to after-the-fact realizations, dreams, actions while intoxicated, or hearsay. Thus: *sumahmi kafiyqa kas-qa.* 'The coffee was good (I now realize).' *qayniwančaytahsi qusqumantaqa kutimpus-qankí.* 'I've heard that you came back from Cuzco yesterday.' *č'isi mačayus-qaniy.* 'I got drunk last night.'

uwixatan činka-čis-qaniy musqʷuyniypi. 'In my dream I lost the sheep.' In an example like *tapuyu-kus-qayki* (alternatively tapuyu-kusayki) 'I'll ask you something', no vestige of the "unreal" meaning mentioned above seems to be present, and the reference is clearly to future time rather than past. (See 5.2141)

7.2 *Restricted auxiliaries*. The restricted auxiliaries ordinarily precede any unrestricted auxiliary which may occur in the same pendant phrase. Non-derivational verb stem-formatives may precede or follow these auxiliaries, with certain limitations. The augmentative and hortative stem-formatives freely precedeor follow these auxiliaries.

7.21 *One-syllable restricted auxiliaries*. There are four restricted auxiliaries which contain only one vowel, called arbitrarily *"one-syllable" auxiliaries*. They are *ri-*, *inchoative*, *ysi-*, *assistive*, *či-*, *causative*, and *wa-*, *injunctive*. Like the unrestricted auxiliaries, these may be added to contentive verbs to form pendant stems which, of course, may add a variety of verb suffixes. The rule of accent which applies to pendant phrases applies also to those which contain restricted auxiliaries. Each one-syllable auxiliary has its distinctive distribution, but some have features in common. *ri-*, *ysi-*, and *či-*, as a group, have the following characteristics:

a. If two or all three occur in a pendant phrase their order generally is *ri-*...*ysi-*...*či-*: *kunan Ĭank'a-ri-ysimuwankimanču?* 'Can you help me to work now?' *ninata hap'i-ri-čis-kanki.*

'You'll be lighting the fire.' *ñañaywanña wayk'u-ysi-či-kusah.* 'I'll have my sister help me to cook.' *čaxrataqa wasimasinčiswan ruwa-ri-ysi-či-kusun.* 'We'll have our neighbors help work the fields.'

Note however the rarely found order *či-*...*ysi-* in *yača-či-ysina-kusunčis.* 'Let's help teach each other.'

b. These auxiliaries always precede any unrestricted auxiliary which may occur in the same pendant phrase: *haku yanapa-ri-kusun.* 'Let's start helping him (or them).' *birindayta mixu-ysi-kunki.* 'You'll eat lunch with them.' *ahata qu-či-kunqa.* '(Tell him) he must ask for chicha.' *čuxčaykita rutu-či-kamuy.* 'Go and have your hair cut.' *paypuwan rumitaqa asta-ri-ysi-či-kamusahku.* 'With him helping too, we (excl.) will transport the stones together.'

c. Generally, the non-derivational verb stem-formatives may precede or follow these auxiliaries in the pendant phrase, with certain limitations. The augmentative and hortative freely precede or follow *ri-* and *ysi-*, but only precede *či-*. The reciprocal precedes or follows these auxiliaries, except that the order *-na-ysi-* does not occur. The repetitive is found before or after these auxiliaries. The use of the unrestricted auxiliary *ku-* is required in phrases which contain *-na* or *-pa*, respectively reciprocal and repetitive stem-formatives, except that the sequences *-pa-ysi-*, *-pa-či-*, *-pa-ri-*, and *-na-či-* may occur without *ku-*: *čay ruwanata tukupa-ysipunki.* 'You'll help him finish that task.' *siyaruta pitaspaykin, siyaruta munapa-čiwanki.* 'Since you're smoking, you make me want to smoke." *haku yarq"ata pičapa-risunčis.* 'Let's clean the ditch again.'

pitatah puri-ysipa-kamurankiri? 'Whom did you accompany (on his trip)?' *wawačayqa ñan saya-ripa-kamus-kanña.* 'My baby is already trying to stand up.' *kornelpin runasimita yača-čipa-kus-kaniy.* 'I'm teaching Quechua for Cornell.' *paykunapural̃an wahana-ri-kunku.* 'They're just calling each other to get together.' *amiguywan rihsina-čimusayki.* 'I'll introduce you to my friend.' *rampa-rina-kusunču?* 'Shall we go along holding hands?' *pasahpis l̃ank'a-ysina-kul̃ančismi, riki?* 'We always help each other at work. Right?' *čay irqikunaqa waqa-čina-kus-kankun.* 'Those youngsters are making each other cry.'

d. The two-form non-derivational stem-formatives, *-yKu ~ -yKa*, augmentative, and *-rQu ~ -rQa*, hortative, occur in the second form when they precede these auxiliaries, except that free variation exists between *-yKu* and *-yKa* before *ysi-*. Thus, these auxiliaries "control" these stem-formatives in the same way as the controlling suffixes *-mu* and *-pu*. As explained in *c* above, the augmentative and hortative stem-formatives may follow *ri-* or *ysi-*, in which case this control does not operate and the stem-formatives appear in the first forms *-yKu* and *-rQu*: *wasi uxuman apaya-riyčis čay kusaskunata.* 'Just go ahead and take those things into the house.' *tiyuykipah ahačata apa-riyunki.* 'You'll be taking a little chicha for your uncle.' *q'asurqa-riyman čay alquta.* 'I should beat that dog.' *papata al̃a-rirus-kasah.* 'I'll be digging the potatoes.' *wawata mixuya-činqa.* '(Tell him) he has to feed the baby.' *ahata ima* *ahara-čisah.* 'I'll have some chicha made too.' *čay wasitaqa t"uñiyara-čipurankun.* 'I see that they really destroyed that house.' *abogadohta haykuya-ysisaykiču?* 'Do you want me to go with you into the lawyer's office?' *siñurkurata niyu-ysisaykiču?* 'Do you want me to go with you to talk with the priest?' *hayku-ysiyuwayá kasakuraltaqa.* 'Go with me into the priests residence.' payña l̄ank'ara-ysisunki. 'Now he'll help you work.' *l̄ank'a-ysiru-kusahpasyá qasis-kaniytah čayqa.* 'All right, since I'm free, I'll help him work.' *watáyara-ysisah wakakunata.* 'Don't worry, I'll help to tie the cows.' *ruwanaykita ruwayu-ysirusaykiču?* 'Do you want me to help you to do your work?'

e. Modal suffixes occurring in the same phrase always follow these auxiliaries: *hakuču tusuhta q"awa-ri-kamusun.* 'Let's go look at the dancers.' *p"away wakata-qatira-ysimpunki.* 'Go and help him bring in the cows.' *manan imatapas uyari-čiwanču.* 'He hasn't told me anything about that.' *kartata apa-čīmur-qasunkiču?* 'Did he send you the letters?' *čay irqikuna uwixata miči-ri-ysimuwačunku.* 'Tell those boys to help me herd the sheep.'

In the following sections we discuss the meanings of all the one-syllable auxiliaries, and the distribution of *wa-*, not considered above.

7.211 *ri-, inchoative*. The meaning is that the actor initiates the action. Infrequently this auxiliary can be repeated within the phrase for extra emphasis: *wakata q"awa-rimuy.* 'Go and have a look at the cow.' *kapulita č'unqa-ri-kuy.* 'Feel free to eat some cherries.' *kačita haywa-ri-kamuway al̄iču.* 'Please pass the salt.' *p"away uwixata q"awa-ri-rimunki.* 'Run and have a look at the sheep.'

7.212 *ysi-, assistive*. The meaning is that the actor accompanies someone else or assists him in carrying out the action: *l̄ank'a-ysisaykiču?* 'Shall I help you work?' *hakuyá ruwa-ysina-kusunčis.* 'Well, let's work together.' *qusquta rira-ysiway.* 'Travel with me to Cuzco.' *hawayčayki puñu-ysisunki.* 'Your little nephew will spend the night with you.'

7.213 *či-, causative*. The meaning is that the actor causes someone else to do the action. Occurrences of non-derivational verb stem-formatives after *či-* are possible (see *c* above) but rare; examples found contain only *-pa* or *-na*: *manulčawanña wil̄a-čimusayki hampunaymantaqa.* 'I'll have Manuelito let you know about my return.' *mink'aywanmi l̄ank'a-čimusah čaxrayta.* 'I'll have the field worked by some peones.' *ama waqa-čina-kuyčisču.* 'Don't make each other cry.' *haku wasiyta, hinaspa taytaywan rihsina-čimusayki.* 'Let's go to my house and I'll introduce you to my father.' *mixunan mil̄apa-čiwan.* 'The food gives me no appetite.' *siyaruta pitaspaykin, siyaruta munapa-čiwanki.* 'When you smoke cigarettes you make me want one.' *kornelpin runasimita yača-čipa-kus-kaniy.* 'I'm teaching Quechua at Cornell.'

Repetition of či- within the phrase is also possible but rare: čuxčaykita rutu-či-či-kamuy. 'Go and have your hair cut.'

7.214 wa-, injunctive. The distribution of the auxiliary wa- matches almost exactly that of the modal suffix -wa, and the two are mutually exclusive. Furthermore this auxiliary cannot be repeated in the phrase. Use of the auxiliary wa- means that the speaker is insisting on the action to be performed by the person addressed or a third person, so that it occurs most frequently between familiars or in the speech of someone giving orders. In combination with a preceding benefactive modal -pu, the meaning is more gentle and supplicative. Thus, only suffixes which signal 2nd or 3rd person actor follow this auxiliary, except for one anomalous case: -h, simultative aspect, may follow as the last inflectional morpheme in the construction (except for the deferential plural -čis). Like the modal -wa, this auxiliary is preceded in the phrase by the modals -mu and -pu, and it is followed by the injunctive modal -ču, but unlike the modal it is mutually exclusive with the modal -su. Like the modal, and unlike any other restricted auxiliary, this auxiliary may take position after the sequence -s-ka- (see 7.12 above), as well as before it. As in the case of other auxiliaries, wa- is always preceded by a hyphen in the text, so that there is a contrast in writing that corresponds with the distinction in meaning between the auxiliary wa- and the modal -wa: Note wa- auxiliary in čay taytačaman ahata haywa-ri-way, č'akisqačá kas-kan. 'Hand some chicha to that man. He must be thirsty.' but -wa modal in ahata haywa-riway. č'akiwas-kanmi. 'Serve me some chicha. I'm thirsty.' Similarly: *husiyča alqutawan pusa-wanqa uwixa miči-ysihnimpah.* 'Let José take the dog too, to help him herd the sheep.' but *husiyčan činčiruta pusawanqa.* 'José will take me to Chinchero.' Other examples containing the auxiliary are: *čay uwixata karuman qati-way.* 'Drive those sheep far away.' *al̄il̄anču kapu-was-kanki, mamitáy?* 'Are you well, little mother?' *iskayniykičis qusquta ri-wayčis.* 'Both of you go to Cuzco.' *ñawpa-ri-was-kayčis, nuqaqa q"ipataña hamus-kasah.* 'You-all go first, I'll come later.' *yaw, irqi, mixu-ysi-kamu-was-kay paykunata.* 'Hey, boy, you go and eat with them.' *qulqi činka-čisqaykita mask"a-wanki tarinaykikama.* 'You go and search for the money you've lost until you find it.' *yaw, irqikuna, makil̄ata uwixata miči-wankičis.* 'Hey, children, you had better take good care of the sheep.' *tiyas-kal̄a-wanki, ama kuyu-rispa.* 'You had better just sit down, without moving.' *yaw taytáy, al̄iču runayta ruwa-ri-ysi-kampu-was-kanki.* 'Hey, you, you had better be helping my husband.' *čay p'asña mixunata wayk'u-wanqa.* 'That girl had better prepare the meal.' *runakuna samapuspaqa wasi uxuman hayku-wanqaku.* 'After the men rest, have them go into the house.' *l̄ank'as-kal̄a-wanqaku ama ripu-wanqakurahču.* 'Let them keep on working. Don't let them go yet.' *čay maña-kusqanku hiramintakunata kuti-čipu-wanqaku duyñunman.* 'Let them return to their owners those tools they borrowed.' *bixturčata niy, alquta waha-rimu-wačun mixuna qaranapah.* 'Tell Victor he should call the dog in order to feed him.' *čay mana al̄in ruwasqankuta al̄ičapamu-wačunku.* 'Let them go and fix up that work they did badly.' *čay irqi Īank'aħ wakata mixura-čimu-was-kačun yapuh riñapah.* 'Have that boy go and feed the oxen so they can go and plow.' Examples with -h aspect are: *matita muna-wahču?* 'Would you like breakfast?' *čaxrataqa Īank'amu-wahčissi riki.* 'Well, you-all should have worked the field.'

7.22 *Two-syllable restricted auxiliaries*. The two-syllable restricted auxiliaries are shown on the following chart.

1	2	3	4
pata-	paya-		
	pasa- ymana-	raya-	naya-
tiya-	ypari-		

The order shown is probably most frequent but not entirely rigid: for example, *naya-* sometimes precedes *raya-*; *raya-* sometimes precedes *paya-*, *pasa-*, or *ymana-*, though it never precedes *pata-*, *tiya-*, or *ypari-*. As shown, *pata-* may be followed by *paya-*, and *tiya-* may be followed by *ypari-*, but neither may occur at all with *pasa-* or *ymana-*.

naya- in order 4 and *raya-* in order 3 convey meanings which tend to be expressed by verbs in English, but the auxiliaries of orders 1 and 2 are best translated by English adverbs. Thus these auxiliaries generally modify the meaning of a verb in ways expressed in English by certain modal verbs and certain adverbs.

The two-syllable auxiliaries have in common the characteristic that with rare exceptions they occur before any other auxiliaries, restricted or unrestricted, and before any modals or verb stem-formatives which may occur in the pendant phrase. The major exception is that *naya-* may be preceded, as well as followed, by *ri-*, *ysi-*, and *či-* among the auxiliaries, as well as *-pa* and *-na* among the stem-formatives. In the descriptions below no labels are given to the two-syllable auxiliaries, since a simple translation is ordinarily possible. The order of presentation here does not correspond with order of occurrence in the phrase but is intended to facilitate comprehension.

7.221 *naya-* means to want or to desire. Observe that it can be added to stems such as *aha* and *runa*, which otherwise appear only as substantives, as well as to easily recognized verb or ambivalent stems: *mixu-nayawas-kanmi.* 'It's making me hungry.' *imamantatah waqa-nayas-kasunkiri?* 'What makes you feel like crying? *para-naya-rimus-kanmi.* 'It's threatening to rain at any moment.' *čay runaqa aha-naya-či-kus-kanmi.* 'That man wants to drink chicha.' *čay runaqa runa-naya-či-kus-kal̄anmi, čaymi huhwampis huhwampis hučataris-kal̄an.* 'That man likes to fight all the time; that's why he picks fights with this person and that person.' *pita-nayawas-kanmi.* 'It's making me feel like smoking.'

In the following examples *naya-* appears in its optional position after the auxiliaries *ri-*, *ysi-*, and *či-*, after the verb stem-formatives *-pa* and *-na*: *rupʺa-ri-nayawas-kanmi.*

'I feel like I'm coming down with fever.' *l̃ank'a-ysi-nayawas-kanmi.* *l̃ank'a-ri-ysisqaykiču?* 'I feel like working with you. Do you want me to help you?' *imapahmi waqa-paya-činki čay warmita?* *waqa-či-nayal̃asunkiču?* 'Why do you make that woman cry all the time? Do you enjoy making her cry?' *mil̃apa-nayawas-kanmi.* *manan mixuymanču.* 'I've lost my appetite. I can't eat.' *imatan maqana-činki? maqana-či-nayal̃asunkiču?* 'Why do you make them fight with each other? Do you just like to make people fight?'

7.222 *raya- ~ nraya-* means to continue or remain. The second form is restricted to combinations with verbs of motion such as *kuti-* 'return'; otherwise the first form occurs. *raya-*, like *naya-*, combines with some substantive stems: *yana* 'black', as well as with verbs. As mentioned above, *raya-* can be followed by *naya-*: *ama saya-rayayču. l̃ukul̃a puriy.* 'Don't stand still. Walk along quickly.' *čay alquqa mixusqankutan q"awa-raya-kus-kan.* 'That dog keeps looking at what they-re eating.' *čay maht'aqa sapa p'unčaymi kuti-nrayamuwan rima-payahniy.* 'That boy doesn't fail to come every day to talk to me.' *imatah čahaymantari yana-rayamus-kan?* 'What could that blackish thing be?' *kumpa-raya-nayal̃asunkiču? hatari-kuyá l̃ukul̃a, ñan timpuña.* 'Do you only feel like lying down? Get up quickly; it's late already.' *puñu-naya-rayawas-kal̃anmi.* 'I'm just continually plagued by the desire to sleep.' *imal̃atatah q"awa-raya-nayasunkiri?* 'What do you keep trying to look at all the time?'

7.223 *ypari- - rpari-* means that the action is terminal: *karuwanmi saqi-ypari-či-kamuniy, čaymi huh karutarah suya-kamuniy.* 'I missed the bus; that's why I had to wait for another bus.' *warminta wawantinta wixč'u-rparispan čay runaqa činka-kapun.* 'Abandoning his wife and his child, that man disappeared.' *čay irqikunaqa tanqa-yparina-kunkun, čaymi pampaman laq'a-kunku.* 'Those boys pushed each other so, that then they fell to the ground.' *sumahtan kača-rparipusaykiku ripunaykipahqa.* 'We're going to give you a good send-off, so then you can go.' *uwixiruta qati-ypari-rimuy.* 'Accompany the shepherd over to there.' *dañu tuku-kuykama pasa-rpari-ri-čimuy uwixata.* 'Make the sheep pass over to the place beyond the planted field.' *punčuykitari čura-rpari-nayal̄asunkiču, čaytah hawamanri saqi-yparimuranki?* 'Have you got into the habit of throwing away your poncho, and is that why you left it outside?' *imatan punkuta kiča-yparimuranki?* 'Why have you left the door open?' *čay q'upata čahay pampaman hič'a-rparimuy.* 'Go and throw away that garbage out on the pampa.' *wasitari* saqi-ypari *saqi-ypari-nayal̄asunkiču, čaytah č'intari saqi-rparirqanki?* 'Is it that you want to abandon the house, is that why you left it without anybody there?' *punčuntaqa hawapin čura-ypari-raya-čisqa tutastin.* 'He had carelessly left his poncho outside all night.'

7.224 *paya-* means frequently: *ama misk'ita qu-payayču čay irqiman.* 'Don't give sweets to that child so often.' *maqa-paya-nayal̄as-kasunkiču wawatari, čaytah ñatah ñatahri maqa-payanki?* 'Is it that you just like to strike the child; and is that why you hit him again and again?' *kaykamaču* *tiya-paya-raya-kamuranki? l̃ukul̃as riki kuti-rimpuwah!* 'Have you stayed with him all this time? Well, you should have come back quickly!' *ama mixusqankuta q"awa-raya-paya-kuyču.* 'Don't stay around looking at what they're eating.'

7.225 *pasa-* means deeply or profoundly. This auxiliary occurs only with the verb stem *yuya-* 'to think': *sinčitan yuya-pasamuykičis.* 'I worry a lot about you-all.' *yanqal̃anmi yuya-pasa-naya-či-kuniy.* 'I'm continually anxious without any reason.' *amaña yuya-pasa-rayačunču.* 'Let him not be concerned anymore.' *mana usq"ay hampuspan yuya-raya-pasa-či-kuwan.* 'When he doesn't return quickly it always makes me worry.'

7.226 *ymana-* means reflectively: *al̃inta yuya-ymana-kučunku manarah rimas-kaspanku.* 'Let them think it over well, before they speak.' *imal̃amantas l̃aki-ymana-nayawas-kampás!* 'I don't know why this remorseful feeling affects me.' *imatarahčá yuya-ymana-rayas-kampas čaymantaqa!* 'How concerned he must be about that!' *čaymantačus histu-nraya-ymanayman?* 'Because of that should I constantly be moaning?'

7.227 *pata-* means imitatively, repeatedly, or frequently; it occurs only with the verb stem *yača-* 'to learn': *ama yača-patawayču.* 'Don't imitate me.' *yača-pata-nayal̃as-kančá, čayčá kusa yača-pata-kuypahqa.* 'He just likes to imitate, so he would be a good one to imitate people.' *čixčita waha-ri-kuhtiy urqukunarah yača-pata-raya-rimuwanku.* 'When I shout at (inveigh against) the hail, even the mountains accompany me with their repeated echos.' *rima-kusqay yača-pata-payawanaykipahqa kusayá simiyki kas-kan.* 'You certainly have a good mouth (nasty talent) for imitating whatever I say.'

7.228 *tiya-* means steadily: *wakan tarpusqata saru-tiyarusqa.* 'The cow had trampled all over the field.' *wayñučata tususpaqa t'ahta-tiya-naya-či-kunin.* 'When I dance the huayno I like to tap-dance hard.' *čay runa makiykunamanta q'api-tiya-rpariwan.* 'That man grasped my hands strongly and steadily.'

CHAPTER EIGHT: CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The present chapter describes Quechua clauses in terms of their functional parts, here called *functors*. No attempt is made to give a complete picture of the forms which manifest these functors, although where particular functors are regularly manifested by forms containing certain inflectional elements this is pointed out.

A peculiarity of Quechua utterances is that one functioning element within them is normally marked as a *topic* by the enclitic *-qa*, topic marker. The remainder of the utterance may then be considered a *comment* on the topic. This is of structural interest, and much research remains to be done in explanation of the contrastive ways in which topics may be marked and the meanings of these contrasts. Here we mention only that the topic-comment overlayment on an utterance appears to be independent of clause structure.

We regard a Quechua *utterance* as composed of two functors: an *intonation* and a *body*, the latter consisting of segmental morphemes. In form, the body may be a *sentence*, with such functors as *comment*: *yaw* 'hey there', *address*: *taytáy* 'sir', *clausal*: *hamuy l̄ukul̄a* 'come quickly', and *adclause*: *qanman qulqi qunaypah* 'so I can give you some money (i.e. for my giving you money)' Under this interpretation no subordinate clause construction is described for Quechua. Attributes of this kind function as adclauses, as above, or as *adverbial* functors within the form manifesting the clausal functor. Of course, what we have called the body of an utterance may be manifested in many ways: single morphological words, phrases, or fragments of various kinds.

In the following sections we give formulae for equivalence, intransitive, transitive, referential, impersonal, quotative, citative, descriptive, and stative clauses. The order of functors is relatively flexible; no attempt is made to describe limitations. We posit no formula with fewer than two functors; for this reason an adverbial functor is included in all of them. Where the body functor of an utterance fails to include at least two functors of some clause model, the form which manifests the body is not described as a clause, but simply in terms of whatever internal structure it may have, e.g. substantive, pendant verb phrase, and the like.

8.1 Equivalence clause. The equivalence clause formula is

Subject (S) Verbal (V) Complement (C) Adverbial (Av)

Characteristically, both subject and complement appear in the nominative case. If the subject refers to a third person, the verbal is normally deleted. In the following examples in this and later sections the parenthesized letter symbols preceding each word or group of words identifies their function in the clause: (Av) wiñaypis (S) nuqaqa (C) čakarirun (V) kaniy. 'I've always been a farmer.' (S) qanču (C) limamanta hamuh wiraquča (V) kas-kanki? 'Are you the man who's come from Lima?' (S) čahay wiraqučaqa (C) kama-či-kuhmi (Av) kay l̃ahtapi. 'Yonder gentleman is the leader in this town.'

8.2 Intransitive clause. The intransitive clause formula is

Subject (S) Verbal (V) Adverbial (Av)

The subject is in the nominative case: (S) čahay irqiqa (V) waqas-kanmi. 'That boy is crying.' (Av) ama sinčita (V) yuya-pasayču. 'Don't worry so much.'

8.3 Transitive clause. The transitive clause formula is

Subject (S) Verbal (V) Object (O) Adverbial (Av)

The subject is in the nominative case, and the object in the accusative case. The object is obligatory, if this formula is to be satisfied. The other functors are optional, though one of them must appear. Frequently, in Quechua, the object functor does not appear even though transitive action may be involved. This happens ordinarily when preceding context makes transitivity of meaning evident. Structurally, such a form is assigned to the intransitive formula. Thus, in a given context, payqa maqas-kanmi. may mean 'He hits (him).', and the two functors are subject and verbal of an intransitive clause. Examples of transitive clause forms are: (S) mamaymi (O) t'antata (V) quwan. 'My mother gave me bread.' (S) taytayqa (Av) al̄intan (O) l̄ank'ayta (V) yača-čiwan. 'My father taught me well how to work.' (Av) paqarinqa (O) kapulita (V) pal̄amus-kanqaku. 'They'll be picking cherries tomorrow.'

8.4 Referential clause. The referential clause formula is

Subject (S) Verbal (V) Referent (R) Object (O) Adverbial (Av)

The subject is in the nominative case. The form manifesting the verbal functor always includes, as inflection on either the contentive root or a following auxiliary, the modal -pu, benefactive. When an object functor is present or implied, the referent is always marked by -man, propensitive case. In the absence of any overt or implied object, the referent is marked by -man, or by -ta, accusative case. In order to satisfy the formula, the referent and one other functor, or the verbal and one other functor, must occur. Otherwise, functors are optional. In meaning, the referent is not simply an indirect object, but an element with which the actor has a prior connection or privilege. In practice the referent is often understood from the context, and may not be overtly expressed in the clause, but it will occur when necessary. Examples are: (S) taytaymi (R) iskuylaman (V) čurapuwanqa (Av) kunan wata. 'My father will put me in school this year.' (R) huwančaman (O) čay qinanta (V) quyampunki. 'You must give that flute back to Juan.' (Av) hayk'ahmi (V) kuti-čipuwanki? 'When are you going to return it to me?' (R) nuqamanču (V) kuti-čipuwanki (R) iča paymanču? 'Will you return it to me or to him?' (R) wasiykita (V) ri-kapunki. 'Go right on to your house.' (Av) kunanqa (R) qinayta (V) apa-kapusah. 'Now I'll take along my flute.'

8.5 *Impersonal clause*. The impersonal clause formula is

Verbal (V)   Adverbial (Av)

Both functors are obligatory. The formula has very restricted use. Examples are: *(Av) č'isiqa (V) paramunmi.* 'It rained last night.' *(Av) sinčitan (V) čirimus-kan.* 'It's very cold.' *(Av) sumahtan (V) rup"ayamus-kan.* 'It (the sun) is shining beautifully.'

8.6 *Quotative clause*. The quotative clause formula is

Quotation (Q)   Quote mark (Qm)

The quotation functor may have the form of any Quechua utterance; it is something someone has said. The quote mark is always *nispa*, which always follows the quotation. Quotative clauses are often appended to some other clause or verb, which describes an action occurring at the time the quotation is made. In such cases the quotative clause as a form manifests an attributive function such as adverbial or adclause in the utterance as a whole. In the transcription the quotation is set off by quotation marks. As the examples show, the quotative clause compares with the English direct quotation, as exemplified by 'He said, "Go!"'. Quechua has no parallel for the English indirect quotation, as examplified by 'He said that I should go.' In examples given below, the quotative clause is separated from the remainder of the utterance in which it appears by a diagonal: *(Q) "mixunata ahata ima apamuwankičis" (Qm) nispan / pasanku l̄ank'ahqa.* 'Saying, "Bring us food and chicha," they went to work.' (Q) hampus-qayki, mumúy" (Qm) nispa / punkuta takaykuniy čay wasiman čayaruspayqa. 'Arriving at that house, I knocked on the door,saying, "Can I visit you?"' (Q) "haliyáw! hawanta pasay, wiraquča!" (Qm) nispa / waha-ri-kunku sapa čixči muyumuhtin. 'Every time it looks as if it will hail, the people shout, saying "Hear me! Pass us by, Lord."' (Q) "q"ipa timpumanqa mučuyčus kanqa, imačá!" (Qm) nispan / rima-kunku runakuna. 'The people talk, saying, "In time to come, will there be a catastrophe, or what will there be?"'

8.7 Citative clause. The citative clause formula is

Quotation (Q)　　　Citation (Ct)

Here also the quotation may be anything that has been said. The citation functor is manifested by the verb niy 'to say', in any form other than nispa, and always follows the quotation. This formula serves to indicate not only that a quotation is involved, but also who it was that produced the quoted utterance. Once again, the quotation is set off in the transcription by quotation marks. (Q) "l̄ukul̄a kutimpunki" (Ct) niy čay irqita. (Q) "pil̄as punkučaykita purin, čayl̄as sunqučaykita suwan" (Ct) ninmi čay takičaqa. 'That little song goes, "Who walks by your door is the one who steals your heart."' nuqayku (Q) "unu" (Ct) niyku čay (Q) "yaku" (Ct) nisqaykičista. 'We call "unu" what you call "yaku".' čay larupiqa (Q) "p"istaku" (Ct) nis-qa-kun ñak'ahta. 'Over there they call the ñak'ah a "p"istaku".' limapiqa čirihmi kasqa (Q) "invierno" (Ct) nisqanku uxupi. 'In Lima it's usually cold in what they call "invierno".' *sapa tutamantanmi santa ana istašunmanta makina, (Q) "yana maču" (Ct) nisqa sutiyuh, puri-rin.* 'The train known by the name "black old man" leaves the Santa Ana station every morning.'

A quotative clause is very often incorporated within a citative clause, that is the quotation will be followed immediately by *nispa*, and the speaker of the quotation also cited. In this case the whole incorporated quotative clause will be preceded or followed by the citation, i.e. an inflected form of *niy* other than *nispa*: *(Q) "paqarinmi wilga qal̃arinqa" (Qm) nispan radiyupi (Ct) nimun.* 'On the radio they said, "Tomorrow the strike begins."' *(Ct) ninku (Q) "suwakunas ñak'ahmanta pasa-či-kuspa purinkuman" (Qm) nispa, (Q) "čaysi č'innihkunapi runata hap'ipa-kunku suwa-kunankupah" (Qm) nispa.* 'And they say, "Thieves go about pretending to be *ñak'ah*", and they say, "Thus they seize people in lonely places in order to rob them."'

8.8 *Descriptive clause*. The descriptive clause formula is

Description (D)   Citation (Ct)

The description functor always takes the form of a clause, or verb, which describes some set of circumstances, but no person reference is made in the verbal functor of the clause, or the verb. The verb is marked instead by *-h*, simultative aspect, as its terminal morpheme, and this verb always occurs last in order in the description. The citation functor follows the description immediately, and is always an inflected form of the verb *kay* 'to be'. The citation thus gives the necessary information as to what person underwent the experience described. When this happens to be a third person the citation is normally deleted, and,if plural third person,-ku, neutral plural, will be added directly to -h aspect. This formula is used only for the description of completed actions, sometimes customary actions in the past, or non-present actions in a spatial sense. Thus the descriptive clause is never used to describe present action (spatial or temporal), or future action. Examples are: (D) imakunaĨatatah ruwahri (Ct) kanki? 'Just what did you use to do?' (D) k"učita mičih (Ct) kaniy, (D) puxlayuh ima (Ct) kar-qaniy. 'I herded pigs, and I played too.' (D) uwixata hark'amuh (Ct) kayku. 'We used to tend sheep.' (D) iskuylira p'asñakunataqa turiyahčá riki (Ct) kar-qankì? 'Well, I'll bet you pestered the school girls.' (D) limapiqa čirihmi (Ct) kasqa "invierno" nisqanku uxupi. 'In Lima it used to be cold, in what they called "invierno".' (D) Ĩukulan purih. 'He travelled quickly.' (D) paanačaykunaĨaa pusa-kačawahku. 'Just my sisters used to take me.'

8.9 Stative clause. The stative clause formula is

State (St) State marker (Sm)

The state functor takes the form of a nominalized verb or clause, where the nominalizer is normally -na, material, (see 6.3112), and substantive person markers are added to the nominalized form as the meaning requires. The state marker functor is always a form of the verb kay 'to be', inflected for aspect, often within a pendant phrase, but never for person, unless the external function of the stative clause requires nominalizing of the whole, in which case substantive person markers will occur. Reference to past, present, or future time is achieved by appropriate forms based on kay

kay. The stative clause is used to express the notion of obligation. Thus: *(St) hamunaykitáh (Sm) kar-qán.* 'You had to come.' *(St) qulqiytaqa apampu-wanaykitáh (Sm) kar-qán.* 'You were supposed to bring my money.' *(St) ima ruwanaykipas (Sm) kas-kanču?* 'Do you have anything to do?' *(St) l̄ahtataqa hamunansi (Sm) kas-qa.* 'They say he had to come to town.' *(St) paqarinqa papa al̄amunančis (Sm) kan-qa.* 'We had best harvest potatoes tomorrow.' In the following example, the stative clause as a whole functions as adverbial within an intransitive clause: *(St) papa al̄amuna* (Sm) kahtinqa,/ l̄ukul̄as riki hamu-wah.'